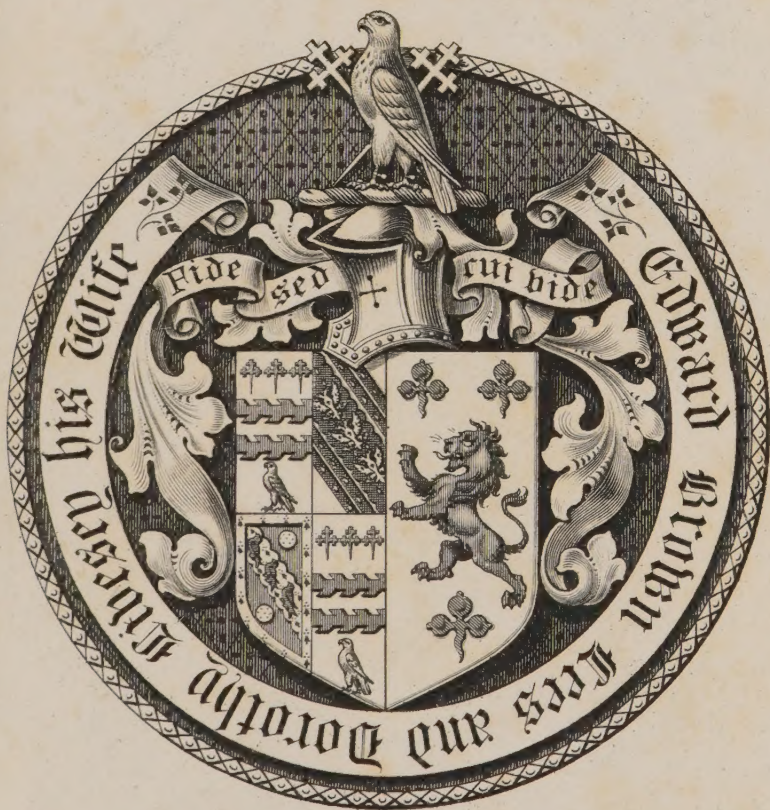




Right Honorable
Sir Charles Long, G. C. B.



GURLAND CASTLE.

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VOL. XI.

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1813.

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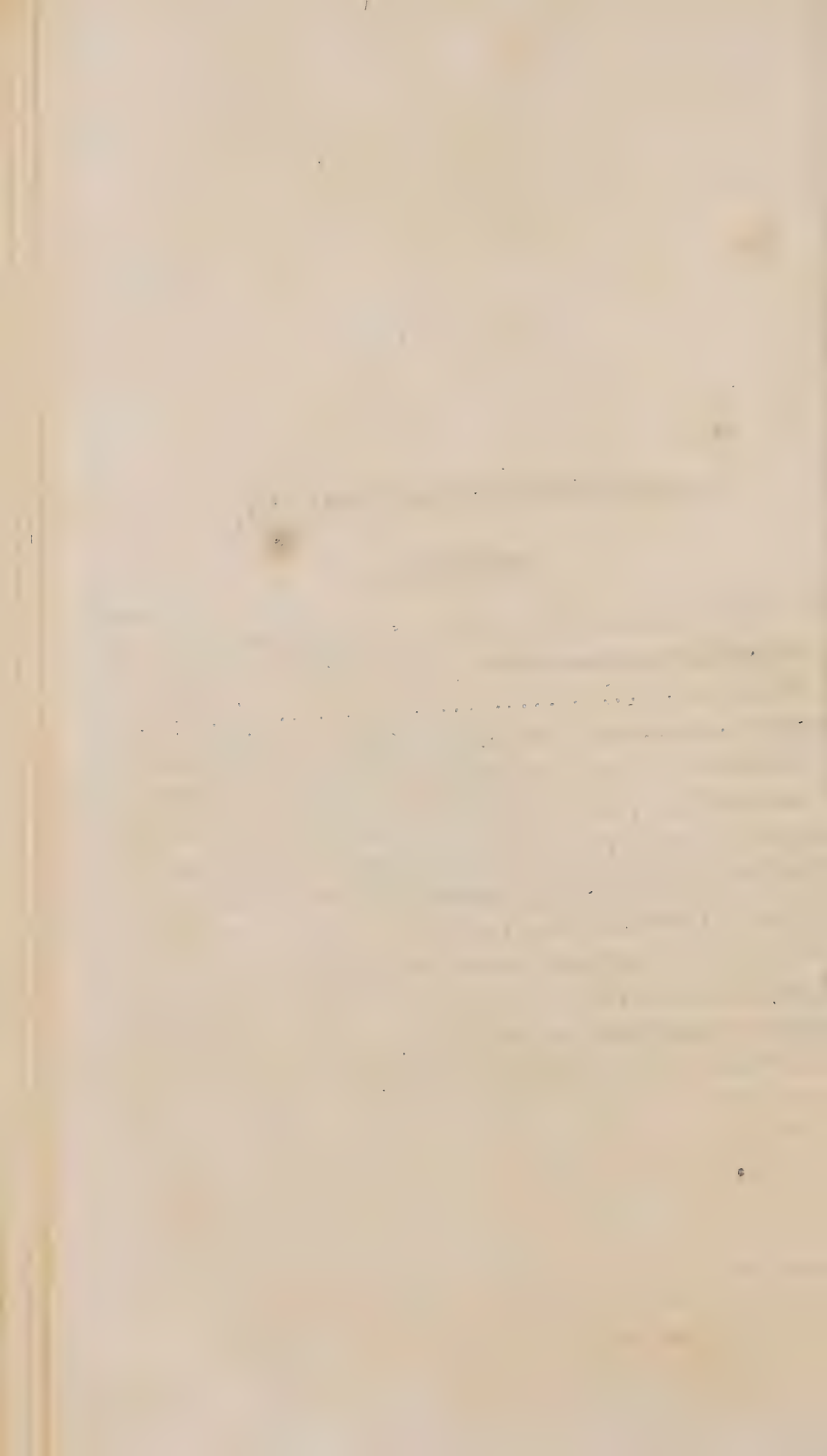
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VOYAGE
OF
CAPTAIN PHIPPS,
TOWARDS THE NORTH POLE.

HAVING been gratified by the fascinating descriptions of some of the new discoveries in the South Seas, given in the voyages of our immortal countryman, Cook, we shall now attend Commodore Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, in his expedition towards the North Pole; the narration of which will properly be introduced by some account of what other navigators had done or suffered, in the same track, and in the same course.

In the contention between powers equally formed by nature to meet an opposition, it may be glorious to overcome; but to encounter raging seas, tremendous rocks, and bulwarks of solid ice, and desperately to persist in attempts, to prevail against such formidable enemies; as the conflict is hopeless, so the event is certain. The hardest and most skilful navigator, after exposing himself and his companions to the most perilous dangers, and suffering, in proportion to his hardiness, the most complicated distresses, must at last submit to return home without success, or perish by his perseverance.

This observation will be sufficiently justified, by a

brief recapitulation of the voyages that have been undertaken, with a view to the discovery of a North-east Passage to China and Japan.

The first who attempted this discovery was Sir Hugh Willoughby, with three ships, so early as the year 1553, the era of perilous enterprizes. This gentleman sailed to the latitude of 75 degrees north, within sight, as it is imagined, of New Greenland, now called Spitsbergen; but by a storm was driven back, and obliged to winter in the river Arzena, in Lapland, where he was frozen to death with all his company. He left upon his table a concise account of all his discoveries, in which he mentions having sailed within sight of a country in a very high latitude, about which geographers are divided; some affirming, that it could be no other than New Greenland, afterwards discovered and named by the Dutch Spitsbergen; others, that what he saw was only a fog-bank; and of this latter opinion is Captain Wood, an able navigator, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

To Sir Hugh Willoughby succeeded Captain Burroughs, afterwards Comptroller of the Navy to Queen Elizabeth. This gentleman attempted the passage with better fortune, and returned full of hope, but without success. He passed the North Cape in 1556, advanced as far north as the 78th degree, discovered the Wygate, or strait that divides Nova Zembla from the country of the Sammoys; and having passed the easternmost point of that strait, arrived at an open sea, whence he returned, having, as he imagined, discovered the passage so painfully sought, and so ardently desired. Some affirm, his discoveries extended beyond the 80th degree of latitude, to a country altogether desolate, where the mountains were blue and the valleys snow.

Be that as it may, the favourable report of Captain Burroughs encouraged Queen Elizabeth to fit out two stout vessels to perfect the discovery. The command of these ships were given to the captains Jackman and Pett,

who, in 1580, sailed through the same straight that had been discovered by Burroughs, and entered the eastern sea; where the ice poured in so fast upon them, and the weather became so tempestuous, that after enduring incredible hardships, and sustaining the most dreadful shocks of ice and seas, terrible even in the relation, they were driven back and separated; and neither Pett nor his ship or crew were ever heard of afterwards.

After this disaster and disappointment, the desire of visiting the frozen seas to the north-east, began to abate among the English; but was assumed by the Dutch with an obstinate perseverance, peculiar to that phlegmatic nation. The first Dutchman we read of who made the attempt, was John Cornelius, of whose voyage, in 1595, we have but a very imperfect account; he was followed, however, in 1606, by William Barrans, or Barents, an able and experienced seaman and mathematician, who being supplied with every necessary for so hazardous a voyage, by the generosity and patronage of Prince Maurice, proceeded in the same course which had been pointed out to him by the English navigators; but having passed the Wygate, found the like difficulties, and the like tempests which the English had experienced; and not being able to bear up against them, returned, thoroughly convinced, that the wished-for passage was not to be attained in that direction. However, he traversed the coast of Nova Zembla, gave names to several promontories and headlands, and planned to himself a new course to steer, by which he hoped to accomplish what he had failed in discovering, by following the steps of those who had gone before him.

In 1607, animated rather than discouraged by disappointment, he entered upon his second voyage, with the spirit of a man fully prepossessed with success. He had heard, that some of the whalers, who had now begun to frequent the North Seas, had, either by design or accident, advanced much farther to the northward,

than those who had been purposely fitted out upon discoveries; he therefore determined to steer to the Northward of Nova Zembla, till he should arrive at the height of the pole, under which he was persuaded he should find an open sea; and, by changing his course to the southward, avoid those obstructions which had retarded his passage to the north-east.

In this hope he continued, till he arrived on the coast of Nova Zembla, where, before he had reached the 77th degree, he was so rudely attacked by the mountains of ice, that every where assailed him, that not being able to withstand their fury, he was driven against the rocks, and his ship dashed to pieces. Barents and the greatest part of his crew got safe to land, but it was to experience greater misery than those underwent, who perished in the attempt. They were obliged to winter in a country where no living creature, besides themselves, appeared to have existence; and where, notwithstanding their utmost efforts to preserve their bodies from the cold, the flesh perished upon the bones of some of them, and others died of the most excruciating pains.

In this extremity, and notwithstanding the anguish they endured, those who survived had still the fortitude and ingenuity, to frame a pinnace from the wreck of their broken ship, in which, at the approach of summer, they made sale for Lapland; but before they arrived at Colu, their captain died, and with him the hopes of perfecting his discovery.

It was now the active season for naval enterprises. Private adventurers began to fit out ships for the North Seas. Innumerable sea animals had been observed to bask upon the ice, the tusks of whose jaws were found to excel, in whiteness, the finest ivory, and their carcasses to yield plenty of excellent oil. In the infancy of the whale fishery, these were pursued with the same eagerness, with which both the English and Dutch endeavour, at this day, to make the whales their prey, and perhaps with no less profit. In following these, many islands were discovered to which they resorted, and, in course

of time, the seas that were so formidable to the first discoverers became frequented at the proper seasons by the ships of every nation.

Foreign navigators, however, were more sanguine in their notions of a north-west passage, than of the existence of a passage to the north-east; and it was not till many unsuccessful trials had been made to discover the former, that the latter was again attempted. The celebrated Hudson, who discovered the straights that lead to the great western bay, which still bear his name, after he had exerted his skill, in vain, to find a passage westward, was persuaded at last to undertake a voyage, in search of a passage to the north-east. This he performed in 1610, but being discouraged by the miscarriages of others, and the fatal issue that had attended their obstinate perseverance, on viewing the face of the country, examining the currents, and traversing an immense continent of ice, that stretched along the ocean, in a direction from east-south-east to west-north-west, he concluded that no passage could be practicable in that direction, and therefore returned without making any other material discovery.

From that time till the year 1676, the prosecution of this discovery was totally neglected by the English; and though the Dutch whalers amused the world with wonderful relations of their near approach to the pole, yet little credit was given to their reports, till the arrival of one John Wood, who had accompanied Sir John Narborough in his voyage to the South Sea.

This able and enterprising navigator, being himself an excellent mathematician and geographer, and reading in the Philosophical Transactions, a paper by which the existence of a northern passage to the eastern or Indian ocean, was plausibly asserted, and this exactly coinciding with his own notions of the construction of the globe, he was induced to appl. to King Charles II. for a commission to prosecute the discovery; the accomplishment whereof, it was said, would add to the glory

of his majesty's reign, and immensely to the wealth and prosperity of his kingdoms.

Many about the court, hoping to share in the profits of the voyage, were earnest in prevailing with his majesty to forward the design, who, being himself fond of novelty, ordered the *Speedwell* frigate to be fitted out at his own charge, manned, victualled, and provided with every necessary; while the duke, his brother, and seven other courtiers joined in the purchase of a pink of one hundred and twenty tons, to accompany her, which they likewise manned and victualled, and furnished with merchandizes, such as were thought marketable on the the coasts of Tartary or Japan; the countries they hoped to reach.

These ships being in readiness, and commissions made out for their commanders, Captain Wood was appointed to direct the expedition, on board the *Speedwell*, and Captain Flawes to bear him company on board the *Prosperous*.

On the 28th of May, 1676, they sailed from the Buoy of the Nore; and on the 4th of June cast anchor off Lerwick, in Brassey Sound, where they continued six days, to take in water and recruit their stores.

On Saturday the 10th, they weighed anchor, continued their voyage; and on the 15th they entered the polar circle, where the sun at that season of the year never sets. The weather now began to grow hazy, a circumstance that frequently happens in the polar regions, and darkens the air with the obscurity of night.

From this time till June 22d, when they fell in with the ice, in latitude 75 deg. 59 min. north, nothing material occurred. On that day, at noon, they observed a continent of ice stretching to an imperceptible distance, in a direction from east-south-east and west-north-west. They bore away along the ice till the 28th, when they found it join to the land of Nova Zembla.

On the 29th, they stood away to the south, to get clear of the ice; but unfortunately found themselves

embayed in it. At eleven at night, the Prosperous bore down upon the Speedwell, crying out, ice upon the weather-bow, on which the Speedwell endeavoured to ware; but before she could be brought to on the other tack, she struck on a ledge of rocks, and stuck fast. They fired guns of distress, but were not heard, and the fog being so thick, that land could not be discerned, though close to the stern of their ship; no relief was now to be expected, but from Providence and their own endeavours. In such a situation, no description can equal the relation of the captain himself, who, in the language of the times, has given the following full and pathetic account.

“ Here, says he, we lay beating upon the rock in a most frightful manner, for the space of three or four hours, using all possible means to save the ship, but in vain; for it blew so hard, that it was wholly out of our power to carry out an anchor capable to do us any service. At length we saw land close under our stern, to the great amasement of us all, which before we could not see for the foggy weather; so I commanded the men to get out the boats, which was done. I sent the boatswain towards the shore in the pinnace, to see if there was any possibility of landing, which I much feared. In half an hour he returned with this answer, that it was impossible to land a man, the snow being in high cliffs, the shore was inaccessible. This was bad tidings; so then it was high time to think on the safety of our souls, and we went altogether to prayers, to beseech God to have mercy on us, for now nothing but individual ruin appeared before our eyes. After prayers, the weather cleared up a little, and looking over the stern, I saw a small beach directly with the stern of the ship, where I thought there might be some chance of getting on shore. I therefore sent off the pinnace a second time, with some men in her to be first landed, but she durst not venture to attempt the beach. I then ordered out the long-boat, with twenty men to land, who attempted it,

and got safe on shore. Those in the pinnace followed, and landed their men likewise, and both vessels returned to the ship without any accident. The men on shore desired some fire-arms and ammunition, for there were many bears in sight. I therefore ordered two barrels of powder, some small arms, some provisions, with my own papers and money, to be put on board the pinnace; but as she put off from the ship's side, a sea overset her, so that all was lost, with the life of one man, and several others taken up for dead. The pinnace likewise was dashed to pieces, to our great sorrow, as by that disaster, one means of escaping from this dismal country in case the Prosperous deserted us, was cut off. The long-boat being on board, the boatswain and some others, would compel me and the lieutenant to leave the ship, saying it was impossible for her to live long in that sea, and that they had rather be drowned than I; but desiring me when I came on shore, if it were possible, to send the boat again for them. Before we got half way to shore the ship overset; so, making all possible haste to land the men we had on board, I went off to the ship again, to save those poor men who had been so kind to me before. With great hazard I got to the quarter of the ship, and they came down the ladder into the boat; only one man was left behind for dead, who had before been cast away in the pinnace; so I returned to the shore. We then hauled up the boat, and went up the land about a flight shot, where our men were making a fire and a tent with canvas and oars, which we had saved for that purpose, in which we all lay that night, wet and weary. The next morning the man we left on board, having recovered, got upon the mizen-mast, and prayed to be taken on shore; but it blew so hard, and the sea ran so high, that though he was a very pretty sailor, none would venture to bring him off.

The weather continuing blowing, with extreme fogs, and with frost and snow, and all the ill-compacted weather that could be imagined, put together, we built

more tents to preserve ourselves; and the ship, breaking to pieces, came all on shore to the same place where we landed, which served us for shelter and firing. Besides, there came to us some hogsheads of flour, and brandy in good store, which was no little comfort in our great extremity. We now lay between hope and despair, praying for fair weather, that Captain Flawes might find us; but fearing at the same time that he might be cast away as well as we.

But supposing we never were to see him again, I was resolved to try the utmost to save as many as I could in the long-boat. In order thereunto we raised her two feet, and laid a deck upon her; and with this boat, and thirty men, for she would carry no more, I intended to row and sail to Russia; but the crew not being satisfied who should be the men, began to be very unruly in their mind and behaviour, every one having as much reason to save himself as another, some holding consultation to save the boat, and all to run the like fortune; but here brandy was our best friend, for it kept the men always fox'd, so that in all their designs I could prevent them. Some were in the mind to go by land, but that I new was impossible for any man; and as no passage by sea could be attempted till forty men were destroyed, I will leave it to the consideration of any, whether we were not in a most deplorable condition, without the interposition of Divine Providence.

The weather continued still very bad, with fogs, snow, rain, and frost, till the ninth day of our being on shore, which was the 8th day of July, when in the morning it cleared up, and to our great joy, one of our people cried out a sail, which proved Captain Flawes; so we set fire to our town, that he might see where we were, which he presently discovered, so came up, and sent his boat to us; and by twelve o'clock we all got safe on board, but left all on shore that we had saved from the ship; for we much feared it would prove foggy again, and that we should be driven once more on this miserable country; which is, for the most part,

covered perpetually with snow, and what is bare being like bogs, on whose surface grows a kind of moss, bearing a blue and yellow flower, the whole product of the earth in this desolate region. Under the surface, about two feet deep, we came to a firm body of ice, a thing never heard of before; and against the ice-cliffs, which are as high as either of the forelands in Kent, the sea has washed underneath, and the arch overhanging, most fearful to behold, supports mountains of snow, which, I believe, "hath lain there ever since the creation."

Thus far in Captain Wood's own words. He adds, that by the tides setting directly in upon the shore, it may be affirmed with certainty, that there is no passage to the northward. One thing remarkable in his relation and which seems to contradict the report of former navigators, is, that the sea is there saltier than he had yet tasted it elsewhere, and the clearest in the world, for that he could see the shells at the bottom, though the sea was four hundred and eighty feet deep.

Being all embarked on board the *Prosperous*, on the 9th of July they changed their course, and steered for England; and, on the 23d of August, they arrived safe in the Thames, without any remarkable accident intervening.

After the miscarriage of this voyage, on which the highest expectations had been formed, the most experienced navigators in England seemed to agree, that a passage by the north, or north-east, had no existence. They were the more confirmed in this error, for an error it is, by the reasons assigned by Captain Wood, for changing his opinion on this matter; for, before he went upon the discovery, he was fully persuaded himself, and likewise persuaded many others, that nothing was more certain. When, however, he first saw the ice, he imagined it was only that which joined to Greenland, and that no solid body of ice extended farther from land than twenty leagues; in this persuasion, he altered his course, and coasted along in the direction in which the ice lay, expecting, at every cape or head-land of ice,

after running a certain distance, to find an opening into the Polar Ocean; but after running two or three glasses to the northward in one bay, he found himself entangled in another; and thus it continued till his ship was wrecked. By this experiment he found the opinion of Barents confuted, namely, "that by steering the middle course between Spitsbergen and Nova Zembla, an open sea might be attained, in which a ship may safely sail as far as the Pole." From his own experience, he therefore pronounced, that all the Dutch relations were forgeries which asserted, that any man had ever been under the pole; verily believing, that if there be no land to the northward of 80 deg. that the sea is there frozen, and always continues so; and grounding his opinion upon this remark, that if the body of ice which he saw, were to be conveyed ten degrees more to the southward, many centuries of years must elapse before it would be melted.

To this positive assertion, however, may be opposed, the testimony of many credible persons, some of whom themselves have sailed beyond the 80th degree of north latitude, and others; upon evidence, whose veracity there is no reasonable cause to bring in question.

Among the latter, we meet with this singular relation of Mr. Joseph Moxon, a member of the Royal Society.

"Being, about twenty years ago, in Amsterdam," says he, "I went into a public house to drink a cup of beer for my thirst; and sitting by the public fire, among several people, there happened a seaman to come in, who seeing a friend of his there, who he knew went the Greenland voyage, wondered to see him, because it was not yet time for the Greenland fleet to come home, and asked him, what accident had brought him home so soon? His friend (who was the steersman) answered, that their ships went not out to fish, but only to take in the lading of the fleet, to bring it to an early market. But, said he, before the fleet had caught fish enough to lade us, we, by order of the Greenland Company, sailed unto the north pole and came back again. Where-

upon, says Moxon, I entered into discourse with him, and seemed to question the truth of what he said; but he did assure me it was true, and that the ship was then in Amsterdam, and many of the seamen belonging to her, ready to justify the truth of it; and told me, moreover, that they had sailed two degrees beyond the pole. I asked him if they found no land or islands about the pole? He answered, no; there was a free and open sea. I asked him, if they did not meet with a great deal of ice? He told me no: they saw no ice about the pole. I asked him what weather they had there? He told me, fine warm weather, such as was at Amsterdam in the summer time, and as hot. I should have asked him more questions, but that he was engaged in discourse with his friend, and I could not, in modesty, interrupt them longer. But I believe the steersman spoke truth; for he seemed a plain, honest, and unassuming, person, and one who could have no design upon me."

To authenticate this relation, which, however, does not seem worthy of much credit, it has been observed, that under the poles, the sun in June being twenty-three degrees high, and having little or no depression towards the horizon, always, as it were, swimming about in the same elevation, might invigorate that part of the hemisphere with more heat than he does our climate, when he is, in the winter, no more than fifteen degrees at the highest, and but eight hours above the horizon; in which space the earth has time to cool, and to lose in the night, the influences of heat which it receives in the day.

Another report, upon like evidence was made to King Charles II. by Captain Goulden, who, being a Greenland whaler himself, spoke with two Hollanders in the North Seas, that had sailed within one degree of the pole, where they met with no ice, but a hollow grown sea, like that in the Bay of Biscay.

A still more credible testimony is, that about the year 1670, application being made to the States General for a charter to incorporate a company of merchants

to trade to Japan and China, by a new passage to the north-east, the then East India Company opposed it, and that so effectually, that their High Mightinesses refused to grant what the merchants requested.

At that time it was talked of in Holland, as a matter of no difficulty to sail to Japan by the way of Greenland; and it was publicly asserted and believed, that several Dutch ships had actually done it. The merchants being required to verify this fact, desired that the journals of the Greenland squadron of 1655 might be produced; in seven of which there was notice taken of a ship, which that year had sailed as high as the latitude of 89; and three journals of that ship being produced, they all agreed, as to one observation taken by the master, August 1, 1655, in 88 deg. 56 min. north.

But a proof incontestible, is the testimony of Captain Hudson, who sailed in 1607, to the latitude of 81 deg. 30 min. north, where he arrived on the 16th of July, the weather being then pretty warm.

Add to all these, that the Dutch, who were employed in 1670, in endeavouring to find a north-east passage, advanced within a very few degrees of that open sea, which is now commonly navigated by the Russians, and which would infallibly have brought them to the coasts of China and Japan, had they persevered in the course they were pursuing.

It does not appear, however, from any authentic accounts that we can collect, that any voyage, professedly for the discovery of a north-east passage, has been undertaken by either public or private adventurers in England, since that of Captain Wood in the year 1670, till the voyage we are about to relate; and it is more than probable, that if the Russian discoveries on the north of Asia had never taken place, the thoughts of finding a practicable passage from Europe in that direction, would have laid dormant for ever.

But the vast and enterprising genius of Peter the Great, in forcing his subjects out of that obscurity, in

which they had long been involved, opened to the maritime powers new sources of commerce, and furnished fresh motives for new enterprises. That great prince, after making himself known and admired throughout Europe, conceived the design of opening a communication with the remotest parts of the globe, and discovering to the world new countries which no European nation had ever yet explored.

With this design he planned one of the boldest enterprises that ever entered into the heart of man; and though he did not survive to see it executed, the glory of the achievement is wholly his.

The country of Kamtschatka was as much unknown to his predecessors, as it was to the rest of the civilized nations of the earth; yet he formed the design of making that savage country the centre of the most glorious achievements.

It was in the last year of this great monarch's life, that he commissioned Captain Behring to traverse the wild, and then almost desolate, country of Siberia, and to continue his route to Kamtschatka, where he was to build one or more vessels, in order to discover whether the country towards the north, of which, at that time, they had no distinct knowledge, was a part of America, or not; and if it was, his instructions, authorised him to endeavour, by every possible means, to seek and cultivate the acquaintance of some European people, and to learn from them the state of the country at which he should arrive. If he failed in this, he was to make such discoveries as circumstances should present, and commit to writing the result of his observations for the use of his Imperial master.

To enter minutely into the particulars of Captain Behring's journey and voyage, would carry us beyond the limits prescribed: let it suffice to say, that after surmounting incredible difficulties, and suffering hardships which none but a Russian could have survived, he executed his commission successfully, and returned to Petersburg in safety, after an absence of five years, in

which time, besides his voyage by sea, he had travelled in going and returning, eighteen thousand miles by land.

It is from the second enterprize of this astonishing man, and from the subsequent voyages of the Russians, that we are able to ascertain the existence of a north-east passage; though the practicability of it is much to be doubted for any beneficial purpose.

It was some time about the year 1740, that Captain Behring embarked on his second voyage from Kamtschatka, of which all that we know is, that he sailed southward to the isles of Japan, and from thence eastward about eighty leagues. At that distance from Japan he discovered land, which he coasted north-west, still approaching to the north-east cape of Asia, which he doubled, and named Cape Shelvghenski, not daring to land till he arrived at the mouth of a great river, where, sending his boats, with most of his crew, on shore, they never more returned, being either killed or detained by the inhabitants, which made his discovery incomplete; for not having men sufficient left to navigate the ship, she went on shore on an uninhabited island, where the captain unfortunately died.

From this voyage, however, we learn, that the sea, from the north-east cape of Kamtschatka, is open to the isles of Japan, and from a subsequent account of Russian voyages, published in the Philosophical Transactions, from a paper communicated by the celebrated Euler, it appears, that they passed along in small vessels, coasting between Nova Zembla and the continent, at divers times in the middle of summer, when those seas were open. The first expedition was from the river Oby, latitude 66 degrees north, longitude 65 deg. east from London, and at the approach of winter the vessels sheltered themselves by going up the Janiska, the mouth of which is marked in our maps in latitude 70 deg. north, and in longitude 82 deg. east; whence the next summer they proceeded to the mouth of the Lena, in latitude 72 deg. north, and in longitude 115 deg. into which they again retired for the winter season. The third expedition was from the

mouth of this river, to the farthest north cape of Asia, in 72 deg. of north latitude, and in 172 deg. of east longitude from London. Thus the Russians having passed between the continent and Nova Zembla, and sailed as far as the easternmost north cape; and the English and Dutch having repeatedly sailed through the straits that divide Nova Zembla from the continent, nothing can be a plainer demonstration of the reality of a north-east passage, than the sum of the voyages here enumerated, when added together. The English and Dutch sail to Wygatz, or the Strait of Nova Zembla; the Russians sail from Wygatz to the North Cape of Asia, and Behring from the North Cape to Japan. This is an incontrovertible demonstration; yet it is obvious, that this course can never be practicable to ships employed in trade. The Russians, by taking the advantage of an open sea and mild weather, in three years time accomplished but part of a voyage, which, by the Cape of Good Hope, may be made in less than one. Who, therefore, would run the hazard of so desperate a passage, for the sake of reaping imaginary advantages, by an intercourse with savages.

But though the passage to the northern countries of the east was known to be impracticable to European navigators, in this direction, it was worthy the greatness of a maritime people, to endeavour to determine the possibility of attaining the same end by another course.

The miscarriage and death of Barentz, and the shipwreck of Captain Wood, had left the question undetermined, whether the regions adjoining to the pole are land or water, frozen or open sea. The advantages from this discovery, besides the glory resulting from it, had the decision terminated in favour of navigation, would have been immensely great.

It must be acknowledged, to the lasting honour of the noble lord who then presided at the head of the Admiralty Board, and who patronized the undertaking, that the means to render it successful were in every re-

spect proportioned to the importance of the discovery.

The vessels that were made choice of were the properest that could be devised. Bomb-ketches are in the first instance stoutly built, and not being over large, are best adapted for navigating seas that are known to abound with shoals and covered rocks: these vessels, besides their natural strength, were sheathed with plank of seasoned oak three inches thick, to fortify them against the shocks and pressure of the ice, that, in their progress, they must infallibly encounter. They were, besides, furnished with a double set of ice-poles, anchors, cables, sails, and rigging, to provide against the terrible effects of the severe and tempestuous weather, that frequently happens in high latitudes, even in the middle of the most temperate seasons.

Nor was less care taken to provide for the comfortable subsistence of the men, than for the preservation of their lives, by wise directions in equipping the ships, and supplying them with every requisite that could be thought of, to prevent the fatal effects that other voyagers had experienced from inhospitable climes and diseases.

Thus equipped and provided, the command of the *Race Horse* was given to the Honourable Constantine Phipps, now Lord Mulgrave, as commodore; and that of the *Carcase* to Captain Skeffington Lutwyche; the first mounting eight six-pounders and fourteen swivels, burthen three hundred and fifty tons; the latter four six-pounders and fourteen swivels, burthen three hundred tons.

On the 3d of June, 1773, the commodore made the signal to weigh, and next day, being off Sheerness, they took their departure with a fresh breeze, and continued their voyage, without any material interruption or occurrence, till the 15th, when they lay to, off *Brassey Island*, and purchased fish from the *Shetland boats* at a very cheap rate.

On the 16th, they took a new departure from *Shet-*

land; but were soon enveloped in a fog of almost pitchy darkness, during the continuance of which guns were fired and drums beat, to enable the Carcase to keep company, while the consort ship was obliged to repeat the signals, lest, in the deep gloom, they should run foul of each other.

When the mist vanished, they found themselves, by observation, in 60 deg. 52 min. north latitude, and immediately steered a north-east course.

Being arrived in latitude 65 deg. 9 min. north, and the cold beginning to be very sensibly felt, the additional clothing, which had been liberally furnished by government, was delivered out to the officers and men. Next day, being the 19th, the wind varied to every point of the compass, and the commodore brought to, and spoke his consort.

On the 20th, they pursued their course to the eastward, with high breezes and a clear air. They were now within the polar circle; and at midnight had an observation of the sun, and found their latitude 66 deg. 52 min. north. Here the Race Horse sounded with a lead of one hundred weight, and a line of seven hundred and eighty fathoms, to which was appended a thermometer of Lord George Cavendish's construction. They found no bottom; but it was ascertained, that the water was eleven degrees colder at that depth than on the surface.

The following day they had light breezes and cloudy weather, and now they first observed a whale. The commodore observing a whaling snow, with Hamburgh colours flying, fired a gun and brought her to. Being homeward bound with seals, a gentleman, who had embarked on board the Race Horse with a view of prosecuting the voyage, being already tired of his situation, bid an adieu to his friends, and took his passage on board the Hamburger, in order to return home.

On the 22d the articles of war were read. The weather began to be piercing cold; being now in the 70th degree of north latitude, and about 14 min. to

the eastward of London. The rain poured down in streams, and froze as it fell, and the air was thick and unpleasant.

The rain continued next day; and they heard three guns fired at a distance, but saw no ship or other object. On the 24th, the commodore changed his course to east-north-east; and amidst fogs, gales, sleet, and piercing cold, they advanced till they found themselves in latitude 74 deg. 17 min. north.

On the 27th, they had light airs from the southward, and felt it much warmer than the preceding day. Indeed, the vicissitudes of heat and cold are much more frequent here than in the more southerly latitudes. It often changes from temperate to severe cold almost in an instant. It should seem, likewise, that in this latitude the ice frequently shifts its place; for Captain Wood, about the same season of the year, in 1676, fell in with ice near this latitude, and found it presented an impenetrable barrier against his farther progress. His affecting shipwreck has been already related.

On the 29th, being in latitude 78 deg. north, and in longitude 6 deg. 29 min. east, they came in sight of land; when a consultation was held concerning their future course. The appearance of the land lay from east-south-east to north-east. Falling in with the Marquis of Rockingham Greenlandman, she presented each of the ships with some venison, which was found very well flavoured, but not burthened with fat. By this ship, which had just come from the ice, they learned, that three whalers had, the day preceding, been crushed to pieces by some floats of ice suddenly closing on them.

Pursuing their course, next morning they saw Black Point, so called from its dark appearance, bearing eastward at the distance of seven or eight leagues. Soon after standing to the east, they sounded, and found ground at one hundred and fifteen fathoms depth.

On the 1st of July they had light breezes and clear weather at midnight, and the sun shone as bright as at

noon. Early this morning they made Charles's Island, and saw some whalers at a distance.

Next day they lay to, and took the altitude of a mountain, which they named Mount Parnassus. It was found three thousand nine hundred and sixty feet from the level of the sea, wholly covered with snow, and at a distance resembled an antique building crowned with a turret.

The bottom of this mountain, and the adjacent hills, have sometimes a very fiery appearance, and the ice and snow on their sides, in various fantastic forms, glisten with a brilliancy that exceeds the splendor of the brightest gems. This appearance is the general prelude of a storm. Here they shot some sea-fowl, which had a very oily taste.

July 3d, was a perfect calm. This day they spoke a Hollander, who predicted, that a degree or two farther north would be the extent of their progress this season. Having doubled Cape Cold, they anchored about three miles from the land, and sent the boats ashore for water, which they found in abundance, pouring from the rocks.

The succeeding day, by observation, the latitude was 79 deg. 34 min. north, and the longitude 8 deg. 10 min. east. The thermometer stood at 47.

On the 5th, they were surrounded by a thick fog, in consequence of which it was found necessary to fire guns to keep company. A dreadful crackling was now heard at a distance, which proved to be the dashing and grinding of the loose pieces of ice against each other; the report of which is conveyed from a great distance.

Next day, the islands of ice began to appear, and the fog thickening, their situation became very alarming. About ten at night the commodore bore away from the ice, and soon lost sight of it: but next morning descried it again, stretching from east by south to north by east.

The weather was cloudy on the 7th, and finding

themselves beset by loose fragments of ice, which gave them incessant trouble, they stood to the westward: but it was with extreme difficulty they could keep any course, for the ice came in such drifts as whirled the ships about in an astonishing manner.

Both vessels continued to be entangled by the ice on the following day, and the Carcase being driven to leeward, hoisted out her long boat to tow up with the commodore; but the ice closing very fast, it was impossible for the boats to live. Orders were, therefore, given to stand to the southward, but the ships were unable to make head against the accumulation of ice that continually surrounded them; and, therefore, were obliged to have recourse to their ice anchors and poles. Towards evening, the ice beginning to open, they strained every nerve to extricate themselves from their perilous situation, which at last they effected, though with some loss.

It frequently happens, that ships, encompassed in this manner by the ice, perish by being dashed against the solid fields, or are crushed by the loose fragments suddenly coalescing. The greatest danger, however, is from the loose ice; for the whalers often moor their ships in security to the solid fields of ice that seem to rest upon the earth. In such situations, it sometimes happens, that no loose ice is to be seen; yet, perhaps, in less than an hour's time, upon a change of wind, it will pour upon them with irresistible violence.

Though it is allowed, that many of the largest fields of ice are bedded in the bottom of the sea, yet it is equally certain, that they are often rent asunder by the raging billows, which produces the most terrible crash imaginable.

The excessive severity of the climate demanded all the exhilarants that the bounty of government had supplied for the comfort of the crews. Each man had now two quarts of porter and a pint of brandy for his daily allowance.

On the 10th they sailed between numberless pieces

of ice, among which they saw several whales. The ice soon becoming solid and compact, they were obliged to change their course; and the discovery of a passage to the pole, in that direction, being judged impracticable, in the opinion of every officer on board, and the men almost worn out with continued labour, it was resolved to extricate themselves, as soon as possible, from the dangers with which they were environed.

Next day, having with infinite toil worked out of the loose ice, they sailed along the main body which appeared perfectly solid and compact. This immense mass extended as far as the eye could reach from the mast-head; but the sea was now tolerably clear. Early in the morning they saw land, which proved to be Cloven Cliff, in latitude 79 deg. 56 min. north.

On the evening of the 12th, being four or five miles distant from the Cliff, they sounded and found a rocky bottom at fifteen fathoms; and saw several English and Dutch Greenlanders at anchor in the Norways, as it is called, their usual place of rendezvous, for they never venture farther north. A breeze springing up, they made sail, and soon saw Hacluit's Head, bearing westward about six or seven leagues distant; and by noon they found themselves in 80 deg. 2 min. north.

On the following day they came to an anchor in Smearingburgh-harbour, where they remained several days, to take in fresh water, during which space our journalist was employed in surveying the country, which is described as being awfully romantic, and full of mountains, precipices, and rocks. Between these are hills of ice, apparently generated from the melting of the snow on the sides of those towering elevations, which, being once congealed, every season receives an accumulation of gelid matter. The eye of fancy may see a thousand fantastic figures on these hills, representing trees, castles, ruins, and the different objects in animated nature.

Of these ice-hills, however, there are seven which more particularly attract notice: they are called the

Seven Ice-burghs; and when the sun shines full upon them, the prospect is inconceivably brilliant, assuming all the various hues and tints that the reflection of the solar orb on their rude surfaces can convey. Their lustre is too dazzling for the eye; and the air is filled with an astonishing brightness.

Smearingburgh-harbour was first discovered by the Dutch. Here they erected sheds and conveniences for boiling the blubber of whales, instead of carrying it home in the gross. Allured by the hopes of gain, they also built a village here, and endeavoured to settle a colony; but the first winter they all perished. The remains of their village may still be traced; and their domestic utensils, and other implements, remained in the shape of solid ice, long after the substance was decayed.

Where every thing is new, a stranger must be at a loss to fix on the first objects of his admiration. The rocks here are certainly the most striking objects. Their summits are almost perpetually involved in clouds. Some appear one solid mass of stone, from top to bottom. Others consist of various fragments, differently veined, like marble, with red, white, and yellow; and probably, were they sawed and polished, they might equal, if not excel, the finest specimens of Italy and Egypt.

On the southerly and westerly declivities of these rocks grow all the indigenous plants, herbs, and mosses: on the two other sides the wind strikes so cold, that it destroys every principle of vegetation.

These plants arrive at maturity in a very short space. Till the middle of May the whole country is locked up in ice; about the beginning of July, however, the plants are in blossom, and by the latter end of that month, or the commencement of the next, they have perfected their seed. The earth is fertilized, in a great measure, by the dung of fowls, which, after breeding their young here during the summer, repair to more favourable climes.

The plants most common in Spitsbergen, are scurvy-grass, and crowsfoot; there are, besides, a species of house-leek, an herb resembling stone-crop, snake-weed, mouse-ear, wood-strawberry, periwinkle, and a plant peculiar to the country, called the rock-plant. Its leaves are linguiform, about six feet long, and of a dull yellow. It is an aquatic, and therefore rises in height in proportion to the depth of water in which it is found. It smells somewhat like muscles. These are the principal plants and herbs: of flowers, the white poppy is predominant.

The rocks and precipices being full of fissures and clefts, which afford convenient shelter for the birds, they breed there in immense numbers. Most of these are water-fowl, and draw their food from the sea. There are, however, some rapacious birds, that prey on their own kind; but these are few. The water-fowl eat strong and fishy, and their fat is not to be endured. They are so numerous, as sometimes to darken the air when they rise in flocks; and they scream so horribly, that the rocks ring with their noise.

There are a few small birds like our snipes, and a kind of snow-bird, but different from that found about Hudson's Bay.

The ice-bird is a very beautiful little bird, but very rare. He is, in size and shape, like a turtle-dove; but his plumage, when the sun shines upon him, is of a bright yellow, like the golden ring in the peacock's tail, and almost dazzles the eye to look upon it.

The other tenants of this forlorn country are, white bears, deer, and foxes. How these creatures can subsist in the winter, when the whole earth is covered with snow, and the sea locked up in ice, is hardly to be conceived. It has been said, indeed, that when the ocean is all frozen over, and no sustenance to be procured in this country, they travel southerly to the warmer climates, where food, proper for them, abounds in the immense forests of the northern continent. But whoever considers the vast distance between Spitsbergen and

the nearest parts of the northern continent, will be as much at a loss to account for the subsistence of these creatures in their journey, as in the desolate region where they undoubtedly remain. The bear is by far the best accommodated to the climate of which he is an inhabitant. He is equally at home on land and water, and hunts diligently for his prey in both. In summer he finds plenty of food from the refuse of the whales, sea-horses, and seals, which is thrown into the sea by the whalers, and covers the shores during the time of whaling; and he has besides a wonderful sagacity in smelling out the carcasses of the dead, let them be ever so deeply buried in the earth, or covered with stones. But how he subsists in winter, is very difficult to be accounted for on any rational principle.

Disquisitions of this kind, as they are beyond the reach of human comprehension, serve only to raise our admiration of that Omnipotent Being to whom nothing is impossible.

These creatures, as they differ in nothing but their colour and size from those commonly shewn in England, need no description.

The foxes differ little in shape from those we are acquainted with; but in colour there is no similitude. Their heads are black, and their bodies white. As they are beasts of prey, if they do not provide in summer for the long recess of winter, it were, one would think, almost impossible for them to survive; yet they are seen in plenty, though, by their subtilty and swiftness, they are not easy to be caught.

The Dutch seamen report, that when they are hungry they will feign themselves dead; and when the ravenous birds come to feed upon them, they rise and make them their prey.

But the most wonderful thing of all is, how the deer can survive an eight months' famine. Like ours, they feed upon nothing that can be perceived, but the vegetables which the earth spontaneously produces; and yet for eight months in the year, the earth produces neither

plant, herb, shrub, nor blade of any kind of grass whatever. They are, besides, but thinly clothed for so severe a climate; and, what seems still worse, there is not a bush to be seen to shelter them, within the distance that man has yet discovered. The means of their subsistence must therefore remain among the secrets of nature, never to be disclosed, as no human being can ever live here, so as to be able to trace these creatures to their winter's residence. It is known, however, that the rein-deer in Lapland subsist on the lichen, which they scrape for to a great depth in the snow. Analogy may here supply the place of demonstration.

Amphibious creatures abound the most about the sounds and bays of Spitsbergen, and they seem best adapted to endure the climate. These are the seals or sea-dogs, and morses, or sea-horses; of which the whalers avail themselves, when disappointed in completing their lading with the fat of whales.

The seal is sufficiently known; but the sea-horse, as it is a creature peculiar to high latitudes, is, therefore, more rare. It is not easy to say how he came by his name; for there is no more likeness between a sea-horse and a land-horse, than there is between a whale and an elephant. The sea-horse is not unlike the seal in shape. He has a large round head, larger than that of a bull, but shaped more like that of a pug-dog without ears, than any other animal we are acquainted with. He tapers all the way down to the tail, like the fish we call a lump; and his size is equal to that of the largest sized ox. His tusks close over his under-jaw, like those of a very old boar, and are in length from one foot to two, or more, in proportion to the size and age of the animal. His skin is thicker than that of a bull, and covered with short, mouse-coloured hair, which is sleeker and thicker, just as he happens to be in or out of season when he is caught. His paws, before and behind, are like those of a mole, and serve him for oars when he swims, and for legs to crawl when he goes upon the ice, or on shore. He is a fierce animal, but

being unwieldy when out of the water, is easily overcome.

These animals are always found in herds, sometimes of many hundreds together; and if one is attacked, the rest make a common cause, and stand by one another till the last gasp. If they are attacked in the water, they will fight desperately, and will even attempt the boats of their pursuers, if any of them are wounded, and not mortally. Some of them have been known to make holes in the bottom of the boat with their tusks, in defence of their young. Their eyes are large; and they have two holes in the upper part of the neck, out of which they eject the water, like whales.

Though the sea about Spitsbergen is full of fish, yet they rather appear to be designed by Providence for the sustenance of one another, than for the food of man. The mackarel, of which there are no great plenty, seem not only to be the most wholesome and the most palatable, but also the most beautiful. They appear to be a different species from those caught upon our coasts. The upper part of the back is of a vivid blue; the other part, as low as the belly, of a gem-like green on an azure ground. Underneath the belly the colour is a transparent white, and the fins shine like polished silver. All the colours glow, when alive in the sea, with such a richness, that fancy can hardly form to itself any thing in nature more beautiful. Almost all the other fish on this coast are of an oily nature, and of a very indifferent flavour.

The saw, or sword-fish, is remarkable not only for the singularity of his shape, but also for his enmity to the whale. This fish takes his name from a broad flat bone, in length from two to four feet, which projects from his nose, and tapers to a point. On each side it has teeth like a comb, at the distance of a finger's breadth asunder. He is also furnished with a double row of fins; and is of astonishing strength in the water. His length is from ten to twenty feet. He seems to be formed for war, and war is his profession. The con-

flict betwixt him and the whale is dreadful ; yet he never gives over till his sword is broken, or he comes off victorious.

The whale is a harmless fish, and is never known to fight but in his own defence ; yet, when he is exasperated, he rages dreadfully. Though, from his magnitude, he may be called the sovereign of the seas ; yet, he is liable to be vexed and hurt by the meanest reptiles. The whale's louse is a most tormenting little animal. Its scales are as hard as those of our prawns ; its head is like the louse's head, with four horns, two that serve as feelers, the other two are hard and curved, and serve as clenchers, to fix him to the whale. On his chest, underneath, he has two carvers, like scythes, with which he collects his food, and behind these are four feet, that serve him for oars. He has, moreover, six other clenchers behind, with which he can rivet himself so closely to his prey, that he can no otherwise be disengaged but by cutting out the whole piece to which it is fixed. He is jointed on the back like the tail of a lobster, and his tail covers him like a shield when he is feeding. He fixes himself on the tenderest parts of the whale's body, between his fins, on his sheath, and on his lips, and eats pieces out of his flesh.

They found no springs of fresh water in Spitsbergen ; but in the valleys, between the mountains, are many little rills, caused by the rain and melting of the snow in summer ; and from these rills the ships are supplied. Some are of opinion, that this water is unwholesome ; but this does not appear to be the case. The whaling people have drank of it for ages, and have found no ill effects from the use of it. Ice taken up in the middle of these seas, and thawed, yields also good fresh water.

On board the Race Horse, Dr. Irvine, who received the premium by grant of parliament, for his discovery of an easy process for making salt-water fresh at sea, tried many experiments at Spitzbergen, and in the course of the voyage. That gentleman had formed a project

for preserving flesh-meat fresh and sweet in long voyages; but it did not answer in this.

In calm weather it was remarked, that the sea about the islands appeared uncommonly still and smooth; that it was not suddenly moved at the first approach of blowing weather; but that when the storm continued, the waves swelled gradually, and rose to an incredible height. These swelling waves successively follow one another, and roll along before the wind, foaming and raging in a frightful manner; yet they are thought less dangerous than those that break short, and are less mountainous.

It was observed likewise, that the ice that rested on the ground was not stationary, but that it changed place; and they learnt also, that in some seasons there was no ice where this season they were in danger of being embayed. There does not, however, from thence appear the least reason to conclude that any practicable passage to the Indian Ocean can ever be found in this direction; for were it certain that the seas were always open under the pole, yet great bulwarks of ice evidently surround it, sometimes at a less, and sometimes at a greater distance. Moreover, were it possible that chance should direct some fortunate adventurer to an opening at one time, it would be more than a million to one if the same opening were passable to the next who should attempt it.

There are many harbours about Spitsbergen, besides that of Smearingburgh, where ships employed in the whale-fishery take shelter in stormy weather; and there are some islands, such as Charles's Island, the Clefted Rock, Red-Hill, Hacluit's Headland, &c. that serve as land-marks, by which seamen direct their course. These islands are full of the nests of birds; but their eggs are as nauseous as the flesh of the fowls that lay them. The sailors sometimes eat them; but they are filthy food. Even the geese and ducks, on the neighbouring islands, eat fishy and strong.

The air about Spitsbergen is never free from icicles.

If a person looks through the sun-beams transversely, as he sits in the shade, or where the rays are confined in a body, instead of dark motes, as are seen here, myriads of shining particles are observed, that sparkle like diamonds; and when the sun shines hot, as it sometimes does, so as to melt the tar in the seams of ships, these shining atoms seem to melt away, and descend like dew.

It is seldom that the air continues clear for many days together in this climate; when that happens, the whalers are generally successful. There is no difference between night and day, in the appearance of the atmosphere about Spitsbergen, one being as light as the other; only when the sun is to the northward, he may be looked at with the naked eye, as at the moon, without dazzling. The fogs here come on so suddenly, that from bright sunshine, the deepest obscurity sometimes takes place in an instant.

While our journalist was busy in making his observations, all belonging to the ships were differently engaged, in one employment or other, either of business or pleasure. The commanders and officers, with Mr. Lyon the astronomer, busied themselves in making observations, being furnished with an excellent apparatus. They landed their instruments on a small island in Vogle Sound, and had several opportunities during their stay, of using them to advantage. Having erected two tents, the captains from the fishery frequently visited the observers, and expressed their admiration, not only at the perfection of the instruments, but likewise at the dexterity with which they were accommodated.

The ice began to set in apace, yet the weather was hot. The thermometer, from fifty-six in the cabin, rose to ninety in the open air. It was still ten degrees higher on the top of a mountain to which it was carried. The island on which the experiments were made, they called Marble Island, from the rock by

which it is formed. Having watered, and finished their observations, the ships prepared to depart.

July the 19th, the commodore made the signal to weigh: at two in the afternoon the ships were under sail. At three they tacked and steered northward; and before four were again entangled in the loose ice, through which they sailed, directing their course along the main body, which lay from north-west to south-south-east.

Next day they continued their course along the ice; but could discover no opening, though they searched every creek, and left no bay or turning unexamined. This day they observed what the sailors call a mock-sun, a phenomenon well enough known in this climate.

On the 21st, the severity of the weather increasing, an additional quantity of brandy was served out to the people, and every comfortable refreshment afforded them, that they themselves could wish or require. The course of the ice lay this day north-east.

The two following days presented nothing remarkable.

On the 25th, they had gentle breezes, with cloudy weather, and were engaged among some pieces of ice, which kept them continually tacking and luffing. At length they entered among mountains and islands of ice, which came upon them so fast, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could proceed; the Carcase having several times struck against them with such violence, as to raise her head four feet out of the water. They now imagined, from the solidity and extent of these islands, that the late strong gales had caused a separation from the main body, the commodore therefore changed his course, with a strong gale to the eastward; in the morning the weather became moderate.

Next day, at seven in the morning, they came in sight of Red-hill, a small mount which commands an open plain, known by the name of Deer's Field, be reason of its fertile appearance, it being the only spo-

on which they saw no drifts of snow. In the vicinity lay Muffin's Island. Captain Lutwych sent out the long boat, with orders to sound along the shore, and to examine the soil. This island is about a mile long, very low, and looks at a distance like a black speck. Though the soil is mostly sand and loose stones, and hardly so much as a green weed upon it, yet it is remarkable for the number of birds that resort to it in summer to lay their eggs, which were so thick upon the ground, that the men who landed found it difficult to walk without filling their shoes.

While the crew of the boat, ten in number, with their officer at their head, were examining the island, after having sounded the shores, they observed two white bears making towards them, one upon the ice, the other in the water. The officer, who it seems was not distinguished for his courage, seeing the bears approach very fast, especially that which came in the water, ordered his men to fire, while yet the enemy was at a distance, as he did not think it prudent to hazard the lives of his little company in close fight. All of them pointed their muskets, and some of the party obeyed orders; but the greater part, judging it safer to depend upon a reserved fire, when they had seemingly discharged their pieces, pretended to retreat. The commander being very corpulent, endeavoured to waddle after his companions: but being soon out of breath, and seeing the bear that came in the water had just reached the shore, thought of nothing now but falling the first sacrifice. His hair already stood on end; and looking behind him, he saw the bear at no great distance, with his nose in the air snuffing the scent. He had all the reason in the world to believe it was him that he scented, and he had scarce breath enough left to call to his men to halt. In this critical situation he unfortunately dropped his gun, and in stooping to recover it, stumbled against a goose-nest, fell squash upon his belly into it, and had very nigh smothered the dam upon her eggs. Before he could well

rise, the enraged gander came flying to the assistance of his half-smothered consort, and making a dart at the eye of the assailant, very narrowly missed his mark, but discharged his fury plump upon his nose. The danger now being pressing, and the battle serious, the bear near, and the gander ready for a second attack, the men, who had not fled far, thought it high time to return to the relief of their leader. Overjoyed to see them about him, but frightened at the bear just behind him, he had forgotten the gander that was over his head, against which one of the men having levelled his piece, fired, and he fell dead at the major's feet. Animated now by the death of one enemy, he recovered his gun, and faced about to assist in the attack of the second. By this time the bear was scarce ten yards from him, and beginning to growl, the officer dropped his accoutrements, and fell back. The crew in an instant had brought down the bear, and now it was time for their leader to do something great. Having recovered his arms, and seeing the poor beast grovelling on the ground, and growling out his last, he thrust his lance full four feet deep into the dying bear's belly. The cowardice of the chief was very entertaining to his party; he took to the boat, while a few of them remained to dispatch the other bear.

On this island they likewise killed a sea-horse. The sea-horse made a desperate defence, being attacked in the water; and had there been only one boat engaged in the combat, he certainly would have come off victorious; but the crew of the Race Horse having learnt that there were bears and sea-horses on this little spot, were willing to share in the sport of hunting them, as well as in the pleasure of tasting their flesh. They accordingly landed in their boats, and came in good time to assist in pursuing the conquest. It happened, however, that their ammunition being almost spent, one great bear came up to revenge the death of his fellows, and advanced so furiously, growling and barking, that he put the whole company to flight; and

some of them, it is said, had no great reason to laugh at their leader.

The air being perfectly serene and the weather moderate on the 27th, the fishes seemed to enjoy the temperature, and to express it by their sporting. The whales were seen spouting their fountains towards the skies, and the fin-fish following their example. They likewise this day saw dolphins; the whole prospect, in short, was more pleasing and picturesque than they had yet beheld in this remote region. The very ice in which they were beset looked beautiful, and put forth a thousand glittering forms; and the tops of the mountains, which they could see like sparkling gems at a vast distance, had the appearance of so many silver stars illuminating a new firmament. But this flattering prospect did not continue long. By an accurate observation, they were now in latitude 80 deg. 47 min. north, and in longitude 21 deg. 10 min. east from London; and in sight of seven islands, to the north, to which they directed their course.

Next day they had fresh easterly breezes, which, from moderate weather the day before, changed to piercing cold. At midnight the west end of Weygate Straits bore south by east, so that they were now on the very spot where Barentz had supposed an opening would be found into the polar sea. Yet so far from it, they could discover nothing from the mast-head but a continued continent of solid ice, except the islands already mentioned. On this ice, however, there were many bears, some of whom came so near the ships, as to be shot dead by small-arms. These bears are very good eating; and many of them are larger than the largest oxen. In most parts of their body they are musket proof, and unless they are hit on the open chest, or on the flank, a blow with a musket-ball will hardly make them turn their backs. Some of the bears killed in these encounters weighed from seven to eight hundred weight; and it was thought, that the bear that routed the sailors on Malm's Island, could

not weigh less than a thousand weight. He was, indeed, a very monster!

On the 29th, sailing among innumerable islands of ice, they found the main body too solid for the ships to make the least impression upon it; and finding no opening, the commodore resolved to send a party under the command of the first lieutenant, to examine the land, which at a distance appeared like a plain, diversified with hills and mountains, and exhibited in their situation a tolerable landscape.

On trying the water, it was less salt than any sea-water they had ever tasted; and they found likewise, that the ice was no other than a body of congealed fresh water, which they imagined had been frozen in the infancy of the earth.

The succeeding day, the weather being clear, they ran close to the main body of the ice, and the sun continuing to shine, made them almost forget the climate they were sailing in; but it was not long before they had reason for severe recollection. In coasting along, they observed many openings, and were in hopes, from their distant appearance, that a passage might be made between them; but upon trial it was found, that these appearances were deceitful. They were then about four miles distant from the nearest land.

On the last day of the month, the Carcase hoisted out her cutter, and filled her empty water-casks with water from the ice. On this ice lie great quantities of snow, and as soon as a pit is dug, it fills with fine, soft, clear water, not inferior to that of many fountains and springs. At noon they sounded in ninety-five fathoms, the ground soft mud. This day a bear came over the ice to visit them, the first they had seen since they left Muffin's Island. They saluted him with a volley of small-arms, and he returned the compliment, by turning his back upon him.

August 1st proved a day of trial. Lying to among the close ice, with the loose ice driving fast to shore, the commodore was desirous of surveying the wester-

most of the seven islands, which appeared the highest, in order to judge, from the prospect on the hills, of the possibility of proceeding farther on the discovery. With this view they carried out their ice-anchors, and made both ships fast to the main body: a practice very common with the fishing ships that annually frequent those seas. Of the reconnoitring party were the captains, the second lieutenants, one of the mathematicians, the pilots, and some chosen sailors, selected from both ships. They set out about two in the morning, and sometimes sailing, sometimes drawing their boats over the ice, they with difficulty reached the shore, where the first objects they saw were a herd of deer, so very tame, that they might have been killed with the thrust of a bayonet: a proof that animals are not naturally afraid of man, till, by the fate of their associates, they are taught the danger of approaching them: a proof too, that animals are not destitute of reflection, otherwise how should they conclude, that what has befallen their fellow animals, will certainly happen to them, if they run the like risk. The gentlemen, however, suffered only one of these fearless innocents to be fired at, and that was done by a sailor when they were absent on observation.

On this island they gathered some scurvy grass; and in many places they could perceive the sides of the hills covered with verdure.

After having ascended the highest hills on the sea-coast, and taken a view of the country and the ocean all round, the gentlemen descended, and about five in the afternoon embarked again on their return to the ships, at which they arrived safe about ten, after an absence of twenty hours. They were greatly disappointed by the haziness of the weather on the tops of the mountains, which confined the prospect, and prevented their taking an observation with the instruments they had carried with them for that purpose.

Their situation now began to be serious; and it was discovered too late, that by grappling to the ice, as

practised by the Greenlandmen, they had endangered the loss of the ships, the loose ice closing so fast about them, that they found it absolutely impossible to get them disengaged; and there was, besides, great reason to fear that one or both would soon be crushed to pieces. Great minds are ever most distinguished by their expedients on the most alarming occasions. The commodore set all hands to work, to form a dock in the solid ice, large enough to moor both ships; and by the alacrity with which that service was performed, the ships were preserved from the danger of immediate destruction.

The ships being thus far secured, the officers, pilots, and masters, were all summoned on board the commodore, to consult on what farther was to be done in their present unpromising situation: when it was unanimously agreed, that their deliverance was hopeless; and that they must either provide to winter on the adjacent islands, or attempt to launch their boats into the open sea, which was already at a considerable distance; for the loose ice had poured into the bay in which they were at anchor with so much rapidity, and in such astonishing quantities, that the open sea was already far out of sight. Before any thing farther was undertaken, the men were ordered to their quarters, that they might refresh themselves with sleep.

While their commanders preserve their fortitude, the sailors never lose their courage. They rose in the morning with as much alacrity and unconcern as if they had been sailing with a fine breeze in the British Channel.

Next day it was thought adviseable to make one desperate attempt to extricate the ships, by cutting a channel to the westward into the open sea. The scooping out the dock with so much expedition, by a party only of one ship, raised high expectations of what might be performed by the united labours of both the crews. No body of men ever undertook a work of such difficulty with so much cheerfulness and confidence

of success, as the sailors displayed on this occasion. Their ice-saws, axes, sledges, poles, and the whole group of sea-tools, were in an instant all employed in facilitating the work; but after cutting through blocks of solid ice from eight to fifteen feet deep, and coming to others of many fathoms, that exceeded the powers of man to separate, this project was laid aside as hopeless.

On the 3d of August, after the men had again refreshed themselves with sleep, it was resolved to fit up the boats belonging to both the ships with such coverings as were most easy to be accommodated, and of lightest conveyance: and by skating them over the ice, endeavour to launch them in the open sea. Could this be effected, they hoped, that by sailing and rowing to the northernmost harbour of Spitsbergen, they might arrive at that island before the departure of the last ships belonging to the fishery for Europe.

While the boats were getting ready for this expedition, a second party was dispatched to the island, with orders to take the distance as exact as it was possible, to the nearest open sea. As all the people belonging to the ships were not to be engaged in these services, those who were unemployed, diverted themselves in hunting and killing the bears that now, attracted perhaps by the savory smell of the provisions dressed on board the ships, came every day over the ice to repeat their visits. Several of these were killed occasionally; and this day they fought a sea-horse; in which engagement the second lieutenant of the Carcase signalized his courage in a most desperate rencounter, in which, however, he succeeded, though his life was in imminent danger.

On the 4th, the artificers were still employed in fitting up the boats. The pilots, who the day before had been sent to make observations on the islands already mentioned, made their report, that the nearest water they had seen was about ten leagues to the westward; that in their passage they had met with great numbers

of spars or pine-trees floating about the island, some of them of considerable size. As there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen growing on any of the seven islands, nor upon any land that they had yet discovered in that latitude, nor for ten degrees farther south, it was evident the trees they had seen must have come from a great distance.

Though there is nothing new in this observation, the like being annually observed by all the navigators who frequent those seas in the summer, and who collect their wood from those drifts, yet the country whence they proceed has hitherto been thought a mystery. But it being now certain, that many of the great rivers that flow through the northernmost parts of Russia, empty themselves into this sea, and that there is an open communication throughout the different parts of it at different seasons of the year, there seems very little reason to doubt, but that those trees are torn up by land-floods, and are precipitated into the sea by the rapidity of the streams.

The ice still surrounding them, and appearing to grow more and more solid and fixed, those who had till now retained hopes that the south-east wind would again disunite its substance, and open a passage for their deliverance, began to despair, as the wind had blown for twenty-four hours from that quarter, from which alone they could have relief, and not the least alteration to be perceived.

Early in the morning of the 5th, the man at the mast-head of the Carcase gave notice, that three bears were making their way very fast over the ice, and that they were directing their course towards the ship. They had, without question, been invited by the scent of the blubber of the sea-horse killed a few days before, which the men had set on fire, and which was burning on the ice at the time of their approach. They proved to be a she-bear and her two cubs, nearly full grown. They ran eagerly to the fire, and drew out from the flames part of the flesh of the sea-horse

that remained unconsumed, and eat it voraciously. The crew from the ship, by way of diversion, threw out great lumps of the flesh of the sea-horse which they had still left, which the old bear fetched away singly, laid each lump before her cubs as she brought it, and dividing it, gave each a share, reserving but a small portion to herself. As she was fetching away the last piece they had to bestow, they levelled their muskets at the cubs, and shot them both dead; and in her retreat, they also wounded the dam, but not mortally. It would have drawn tears of pity from any but unfeeling minds, to have marked the affectionate concern expressed by this poor beast in the dying moments of her expiring young. Though she was sorely wounded, and could but just crawl to the place where they lay, she carried the lump of flesh she had fetched away, as she had done the others before, tore it in pieces, and laid it down before them; and when she saw that they refused to eat, she laid her paws first upon one, and then upon the other, and endeavoured to raise them up. All this while she made the most pitiful moans. When she found she could not stir them, she went off, and when she had got at some distance, looked back and moaned; and that not availing her, she returned, and smelling round them, began to lick their wounds. She went off a second time as before, and having crawled a few paces, looked again behind her, and for some time stood moaning. But still her cubs not rising to follow her, she returned to them again, and, with signs of inexpressible fondness, went round one and round the other, pawing them, and expressing her distress. Finding at last that they were cold and lifeless, she raised her head towards the ship, and seemed to growl a curse upon the murderers; which they returned with a volley of musket-balls. She fell between her cubs, and died licking their wounds. If what is related by a voyager of credit in the last century be true, the filial fondness of these animals, however, is no less remarkable than the maternal.

On the 6th, they discovered that the drift of the ship, with the whole body of ice, inclined fast to the eastward; and that they were already embayed in the very middle of the seven islands. They therefore sent off the pilots of both ships, with a party of sailors, to the northernmost island, to see what discoveries could be made from the promontories there. They returned at night, after a fatiguing journey, with a dismal account, that nothing was to be seen from thence but a vast continent of ice, of which there was no end; and that the thought of wintering in such a situation was more dreadful than that of perishing by instant death.

Next day the boats were all brought in readiness on the ice, fitted with weather-clothes, in order to keep off the cold as much as possible, if by good fortune they should be enabled to launch them in an open sea. They were employed chiefly in preparing provisions for the intended voyage; and in packing up such necessaries as every one could take along with him. This being adjusted, when night approached they were all ordered on board to sleep.

At six in the morning all hands were ordered to turn out; and a detachment of fifty men from each ship, headed by their respective officers, were appointed to begin the hard task of hauling the launches along the ice. The bravest and gallantest actions performed in war, do not so strikingly mark the true character of a sea commander, as the readiness and alacrity with which his orders are obeyed in times of imminent danger. Every one now strove who should have the honour to be enlisted in the band of haulers, of whom the commodore took the direction, leaving Captain Lutwych to take care of both the ships, that if any favourable turn should happen in the disposition of the ice, he might make use of the remaining part of both the crews to improve it. Upon a general consultation of officers, previous to this undertaking, it had been agreed, and an order issued accordingly, that no person on board, of whatever rank, should encumber him-

self with more clothes than what he wore upon his back. Upon this occasion, therefore, the officers dressed themselves in flannels; and the common men put on the clothes which the officers had thrown off, which gave them a very grotesque appearance; but it seemed the two companies to a man preserved their wonted composure. That headed by the commodore, drew stoutly for the honour of their leader; and that headed by their lieutenants had their music to play to them, were deservedly beloved as well as their commanders, particularly Lieutenant Beard, whose steady and uniform conduct in times of the greatest danger, according to our journalist, did honour to human nature. Neither swayed by passion, nor disconcerted by the sudden embarrassments that often intervened, his conduct was always calm, and his orders resolute. He never was heard, during the whole voyage, on the most pressing emergencies, to enforce his commands with an oath, or to call a sailor by any other than his usual name; and so sensible were they of his manly behaviour, that, when the ship was paid off at Deptford, they were only prevented by his most earnest request, from stripping themselves to their shirts, to cover the streets with their clothes, that he might not tread in the dirt in going to take coach. An anecdote of this kind we are happy to preserve.

In six hours, with the utmost efforts of human labour, they had only proceeded a single mile; and now it was time for them to dine, which they did in common.

They had just begun to renew their labour, when word was brought that the whole body of ice had changed its situation, and was moving to the westward; that the ships were both afloat; and that the ice was parting. The joy which this news diffused through the two companies of haulers, is easier to conceive than express. They instantly shook off their harness, ran to assist in working the ships, and once more to resume their proper employments. When they arrived at the ships Captain Lutwych, who was no less beloved by

his men than the commodore, had, by his example and his judicious directions, done wonders. Both ships were not only afloat, with their sails set, but actually cut and warped through the ice near half a mile. This ray of hope, however, was soon darkened; the body of ice suddenly assumed its former direction to the eastward, and closed upon them again as fast as ever.

For the remainder of the evening, and till two in the morning, the drift continued eastward, and all the while the ships were in danger of being crushed by the closing of the channel in which they rode. They had now drifted two miles to the eastward; the men were worn out with fatigue in defending the ships with their ice-poles from being engulfed; and now nothing but scenes of horror and perdition appeared before their eyes. But the Omnipotent, in the very moment when every hope of deliverance from their own united endeavours had relinquished them, interposed in their favour, and caused the winds to blow, and the ice to part in an astonishing manner, rending and cracking with a tremendous noise, surpassing that of the loudest thunder. At this very instant, the whole continent of ice, which before was extended beyond the reach of sight from the highest mountains, moved together in various directions, splitting and dividing into vast bodies, and forming hills and plains of various figures and dimensions. All hearts were now again revived, and the prospect of being once more released from the frozen chains of the north, inspired the men with fresh vigour. The sails were all spread in an instant, that the ships might have the full advantage of the breeze, to force them through the channels that were already opened, and to help them to pierce the clefts that were but just cracking.

While the major part of the crews were employed in warping the ships with ice-anchors, axes, saws, and poles, a party from both ships were dispatched to launch the boats. This was no easy task to accomplish. The ice, though split in many thousand pieces, was yet frozen like an island round the launches; and though it was of

no great extent, yet the boats were of a weight hardly to be moved by the small force that could be spared. They were besides, by the driving of the ice, at more than five miles distance from the ships; and at this time no channels of communication were yet opened. But Providence was once more signalized in their favour; for the island on which the launches stood, parted while the men were hauling them, and they escaped without the loss of a man, though the ice cracked, as it were, under their feet.

The people on board had not been able to force their way with the ships much more than a mile, when the party in the launches joined them. And now, excited by what curiosity or instinct is not easy to determine, several bears came posting over the ice to be spectators of their departure, and advanced so near the ships, that they might have been easily mastered, had not the men been more seriously employed.

The breeze continuing fresh from the eastward, the ice seemed to open as fast as it had before closed, when the wind blew westerly, and from the north; a strong presumptive proof of land to the eastward, which stopping the current of the loose ice in driving from the north and west, closes it in of course, and renders it compact.

As the wind on the 10th was variable, they could make but little progress. The ice, in the morning early, seemed rather to close upon them than to divide. About eight the breeze sprang up fresh from the north-east, exceedingly cold, but opening the ice to the westward. They then made all the sail they could, driving with the loosening ice, and parting it wherever it was moveable with their whole force. Towards noon they lost sight of the Seven Islands. And in a very little while after, to their great joy, Spitsbergen was seen from the mast-head.

The succeeding day, the men, who, with hard labour, cold, and watching, were much dispirited, on the prospect of a speedy deliverance, and seeing the ice no longer adhere in immoveable bodies, began, after a little

refreshment, to resume their wonted cheerfulness. The moment they were released from their icy prison, and that they were within sight of a clear sea, festivity and jollity took place of abstinence and gloomy apprehensions; and before they arrived at Spitsbergen, there was not a sailor on board with a serious face.

The ice that had parted from the main body, they had now time to admire. As it no longer obstructed their course, the various shapes in which the broken fragments appeared, were indeed very curious and amusing. One remarkable piece described a magnificent arch, so large and completely formed, that a sloop of considerable burden might have sailed through it without lowering her mast; another represented a church with windows, pillars, and domes; and a third, a table, with icicles hanging round it like the fringes of a damask cloth. A fertile imagination would have found entertainment enough, for the similitude of all that art or nature has ever yet produced, might here have been fancied.

They continued working all this day through the loose ice; Hacluit's Headland bearing south; and in their course saw a Dutch Greenlandman.

The 12th, they cleared the ice, and bore away with all sails set for the harbour of Smearingburgh, in which they had before cast anchor. Here they found four Dutch Greenlandmen lying in readiness to depart. These Dutchmen acquainted the commodore, that all the English fishing-ships set sail on the 10th of July, the day to which they are obliged, by contract, to stay, to entitle their owners to receive the bounty-money allowed by parliament for the encouragement of that fishery.

About the same time the greatest part of the Dutch set sail likewise from Spitsbergen, on their voyage home; but it is a practice with these last, to take it by turns to wait till the severity of the weather obliges them to leave the coast, in order to pick up such men as may by accident have lost their ships in the ice; and who, notwithstanding, may have had the good fortune to save

their lives by means of their boats. This is a very humane institution, and does credit to the Dutch government.

The day of our voyagers return to Smearingburgh Harbour being fine, the commodore ordered a tent to be raised on the lower point to the south-west, where there was a level plain for the space of two miles, and where all the mathematical apparatus were again taken on shore for a second trial.

They found, on the examination of the vibration of the pendulum, that it differed from that at Greenwich, by Harrison's-time keeper, only two seconds in forty-eight hours; which time-keeper, at their arrival at Greenwich, varied only one second and a half from the time-pieces at the observatory there.

The people were now fully employed in repairing the ships and rigging, and taking in water for the remainder of the voyage.

On the 17th, vast pieces of broken ice, supposed to have fallen from the icebergs, came floating into harbour. When these pieces, which are undermined by the continual agitation of the sea in stormy weather, lose their support, they tumble with a crack that surpasses the loudest thunder; but they were told, that no other thunder was ever heard in this latitude.

During the six days which the ships anchored here to make observations, refresh the men, and refit, our journalist made several excursions to the adjoining islands, where the birds appeared in astonishing numbers; it being the season for bringing forth their young.

Of all the birds that breed in these islands, the burger-master is the largest, and the most ravenous; he is so called by the Dutch, from his size and his authority, as he holds all the other birds in subjection. His bill is long and crooked, rather like that of the stork than that of the hawk, and is of a yellow colour. He has a red ring about his eyes; is web-footed, but has only three claws on each foot. His wings are of a beautiful pearl-colour, edged with white; his back a silver grey; his

body white as snow, and his tail of the same colour, which, when he flies, he spreads like a fan. He builds his nest very high in the rocks, inaccessible either to bears or foxes. He preys upon all the other birds, and eats the carrion of fish or flesh, or whatever comes in his way. His cry is horrible; and when he screams, the mallemuch, a bird as large as a duck, is so much intimidated, that she will sink down, and suffer him to devour her without opposition. Our journalist found it very dangerous to pursue his way over the hills and precipices in this rugged country. The clefts on the mountains are like those on the ice, frequently impassable, but they are abundantly more hazardous, being sometimes concealed under the snow, so that a traveller is engulfed before he is aware. Many have been entombed in these clefts, and perished in the hearing of their companions, without a possibility of relief. To a contemplative mind, however, even the deformities of nature are not displeasing, the wisdom of the Creator being manifest in all his works.

On the 19th of August the ships unmoored, and next day they cleared the harbour. Finding it impossible to make any further progress in the career of discovery, it was now resolved to return home. On the 22d, they were in latitude 80 deg. 14 min. north, longitude 5 deg. 44 min. east. Next day the Carcase, being the heaviest sailer, lost sight of the commodore; but in the evening rejoined; and they pursued their voyage without interruption till the 11th of September, when a violent gale separated them, and they did not come in sight of each other till they arrived off Harwich. In this storm, the Carcase was in considerable danger; and the Race Horse lost her boats, and was obliged to throw all her guns overboard, save two. However, both ships anchored safely at Deptford on the 30th of September.

Thus ended a voyage, which seems to have determined the long-agitated question concerning the navigation to the north pole, and verified the asser-

tion of Captain Wood, that no passage could ever be found practicable in that direction.

From the quantities of ice which that navigator met with in latitude 76 deg. north, he concluded, indeed erroneously, that the 80th degree would bound the progress of ships in that course; and that from thence the polar region was either a continued continent of solid ice, or that land filled up the intermediate space.

Subsequent discoveries, however, have shewn that those seas are navigable as far as the 82d degree of latitude; and in some years it may possibly happen that they will be found open a degree or two farther; but it may, from this voyage as well as the last undertaken by Captain Cook, be reasonably concluded, that a north-east course to the Indies can never be pursued for any commercial purposes.

It has indeed been incontestably proved that such a passage actually exists, and that by watching favourable seasons it may be performed; but who would think of exposing men and property to such a doubtful issue, when a certain and speedy communication with the eastern regions at all times lies open?

This country, therefore, under the reign of his present Majesty, will for ever have the honour of ascertaining the limits of the globe and the extent of navigation; and how far ships can sail, or man exist, is now disclosed to the rest of the world by adventurous Britons.

VOYAGE OF
CAPTAIN THOMAS FORREST

TO

NEW GUINEA and the MOLUCCAS.

THE monopoly of the spices of the east by the Dutch, has always been viewed with a jealous eye by our East India Company, and by the nation in general.

Having determined to settle Balambangan, an island situated near the north promontory of Borneo, and to try to propagate cinnamon, cloves, and nutmegs, there, which it was supposed might be procured from the adjacent islands; steps were immediately taken to carry this plan into effect.

About the end of August 1774, ambassadors arrived at Balambangan from the heir apparent of the Sultan of Mindanao, in whose train was an inhabitant of the Moluccas, named Ishmael Tuan Hadjee, who reported that, on the coast of New Guinea, called Papua, he had seen nutmegs growing.

In consequence of this intelligence, it was resolved to endeavour to obtain spices from parts, which, having no connection with the Dutch settlements, would of course give rise to no disputes. With this view, Captain Forrest was appointed to accompany Tuan Hadjee, on a voyage to New Guinea, to ascertain the truth of the informant's assertion, and to take such other steps as might be most conducive to the proposed ends.

Captain Forrest had been brought up to maritime

affairs from his youth, and having been consulted, as well as commissioned, by the Chief of Balambangan, recommended the equipment of a vessel of only ten tons burthen, that he might be less the object of jealousy or suspicion to the Dutch at the Moluccas, near which it was necessary to pass.

All things being prepared, he went on board the Tartar Galley, as the vessel was named; having with him only two European sailors: the rest were Malays. Tuan Hadjee, with some vassals and slaves, accompanied him.

It was the 9th of November 1774, when this adventurous officer left Balambangan. In two days they came in sight of Cayagan Sooloo. The land is of a middling height, and pretty well covered with trees. Soon after they fell in with a Mangaio proa, belonging to the rajah of that island.

Early next morning, Captain Forrest went ashore, and waited on the rajah, whom he treated with tea; telling him it was the English betel. The rajah smiled, and said it was very good. This prince finding Tuan Hadjee was on board, expressed a desire to see him. Accordingly he waited on the rajah, and was well entertained, as was captain Forrest, who did not forget to bestow some presents, as is usual, when an oriental chief is visited.

This is a very pleasant island, dependent on Sooloo. It is much resorted to by the Mangaio proas, which are chiefly engaged in piratical practices. The rajah, probably, feels himself too weak to dare to refuse them admission. On the 13th, they left Cayagan Harbour, and proceeded to the Island of Pantagarran, where they anchored. Going on shore, they found some Sooloo people, who told them, that at their island were two Molucca proas, laden with nutmegs and mace. On the suggestion of Tuan Hadjee, Captain Forrest proceeded thither, to endeavour to persuade the commanders of these vessels to carry their cargoes to Balambangan.





*Ladies Riding in the Island
of Sooloo.*

Richter del et sc.

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Having entered the road of Sooloo, they found the Antelope, Captain Smith, and only one Molucca proa, which had engaged her cargo, and the other had sailed. However, Captain Forrest, going on board her, bought about twenty pounds of mace for a red handkerchief, and some sago cakes, at an equally cheap rate.

After visiting the English resident, the captain paid his respects to the sultan, whose name was Israel. This prince had been educated at Manilla, where he had been long a prisoner, and was liberated by the arms of the English.

After dining with the resident, and paying some other visits, in the evening they saw the sultan's niece, Diamelen, and the daughter of the general, riding backwards and forwards on a quick trot. These ladies were remarkably handsome. They wore waistcoats of fine muslin; their necks were bare; and, from the waist downwards, they had a long robe, girt with an embroidered zone about the middle. They rode across, as is the fashion, with very short stirrups. These ladies sat their horses remarkably well, this being an exercise to which females of distinction are habituated throughout the island.

Here they obtained excellent refreshments, consisting of beef, fowls, oranges, and other tropical fruits.

On the 19th, the captain left Sooloo Road, and next day, as the weather threatened, he tried to reach Duoblod; but finding both the current and tide setting against him, he bore away for a small island, farther east, where he came to an anchor.

From this station he proceeded to the Isle of Tonkyl, where he supplied himself with some excellent fish, which he purchased very cheap from the natives. After some unsettled weather, and having run a considerable way in an eastern course, they reached the latitude of 5 deg. 3 min. north.

Tuan Hadjee now, for the first time, informed the captain, that it would be highly imprudent to proceed to the coast of New Guinea with only one vessel, lest

he should be cut off by the Papuas. It was then settled to sail between Gilolo and Celebes, in order to purchase and fit up a kind of vessel called a Corocoro. Hadjee, indeed, seemed to have a strong desire to visit Bachian, the sultan of which was his near relation; and this probably influenced his opinion.

In the morning of the 25th, they came in sight of the Island of Sangir, which appeared large and high. They then steered towards a cluster of islands, the two principal of which are Karakita and Palla. In passing the former, they saw a small canoe, which paddled away from them as fast as possible.

Early in the morning of the 27th, they came in sight of Myo. There is said to be a good road on this coast, and plenty of goats on the island. It was formerly inhabited; but since the Dutch have got possession of the Moluccas, they will suffer no one to reside there, lest they should take up the trade of smuggling spices.

Next morning, having moderate weather, the captain found his friend Tuan Hadjee cheering up the rowers with a certain tactic song, to which another beat time with two brass timbrels. This he encouraged, not only to amuse the mind, but to give vigour to their motions in rowing. He also gave each man a red handkerchief as a reward for his exertions.

Having passed the Giaritchas, they steered for the Strits of Latalatta; and soon after entered the harbour of Maleleo, in the Island of Tappa; in some rocks adjoining which are found the edible birds nests, so much esteemed among the oriental nations as a dainty.

Weighing from this harbour, they steered for Bisory. Having entered the road, Tuan Hadjee prepared to visit his relation, the Sultan of Bachian, who resided about fifteen miles off. This sultan is not only the sovereign of Bachian, but also of Ooby, Ceram, and Goram. He is the least dependent, of all the Gilolo princes, on the Dutch; though they have sometimes

attempted to bring him under their domineering subjection.

The sago tree, a species of palm, which grows here, will yield from two to four hundred weight of flour. Sago bread, fresh from the oven, eats just like hot rolls. When hard, it requires being soaked in water before it is used.

How much distress might some of our navigators have avoided, when in want of provisions in those latitudes, had they known where to find the groves of sago trees, with which most of these islands abound. Three trees are sufficient to maintain a man for a year; and an acre, properly planted, will afford subsistence for no less than one hundred, during that period.

On the 3d of December, Tuan Hadjee returned from his visit. He was accompanied by a messenger from the Sultan of Bachian, who brought a present of fowls and fruit, and about twenty pounds of cloves in a basket. In return, the captain presented him with a piece of scarlet broad cloth for the Sultan, and two pieces of gingham for himself.

After leaving Bissory Harbour, they fell in with a canoe carrying three persons, who said they were rajahs of Ceram. Tuan Hadjee held some conversation with them, and learned that cloves certainly grew on that island. Presently after, they saw a boat with a white flag, standing after them, which was supposed to carry the Sultan of Bachian.

On this, Captain Forrest standing back, with some difficulty regained his former anchorage; and found the Sultan ready to receive him. He sat under the shade of a covered canoe, with many attendants; and as the captain advanced, he ran forwards to embrace him.

Being seated, the captain informed him that he was going to New Guinea, and requested the favour of a linguist. This was readily complied with, on condition that he would proceed to the Island of Tomoguy to take one on board. After some conversation with the

sultan, the captain, who was the first Englishman he had ever seen, gave him to understand, that he did not wish to interfere with the Dutch in the Moluccas, nor to interrupt the good understanding between him and them.

The sultan was a handsome man, about forty-four years of age. Whenever he was addressed by the natives, they lifted both hands close together to the head, according to the Molucca custom.

They now sailed between Pulo Bally and the coast of Bachian; and next day saw the Isle of Ooby.

Conversing with Tuan Hadjee, in respect to the produce of Bachian, the captain was informed, that large quantities of cloves might be got from thence, and from Gilolo, by any ship which might attempt a trade there; the Dutch being more off their guard than formerly.

On the 6th, they ran into the Harbour of Selang, and went in search of fresh water, which they found very accessible. They searched the neighbouring woods for clove trees, without effect; but discovered many tall nutmeg trees. There was no visible fruit on the branches, but many old nutmegs were lying on the ground, and most of them had sprouted.

On the 8th, they weighed and left the harbour; and next day descried Pulo Pisang. It is covered with trees.

After passing several islands, they approached Pulo Gag, when a boat with three Papuas came on board, and offered to tow them into a fine bay in that island. Here the captain went on shore, and found a fine clear riyulet. Having supplied themselves with wood and water, they proceeded to the Island of Tomoguy.

Pulo Gag appears to have a rich soil and a luxuriant vegetation. The captain understood that many sago trees grew there. This island, however, is uninhabited, though it certainly would furnish many of the necessaries of life.

Tuan Hadjee, who had proceeded before in a boat to take the linguist, Mareca, on board, now returned

with him, on which they steered directly for Tomoguy. They reached this after it was dark, and cast anchor pretty close to the shore.

This anchorage being found very indifferent, they proceeded to a place called Manafouin, about two leagues distant, where they took up their station in a fine bay.

It being found necessary to careen the vessel, the captain proposed doing it at this place, being dissatisfied with Tomoguy; but Tuan Hadjee and all his people objected to this plan; and Mareca, whose house was in Tomoguy, advised to proceed to that island, which the captain accordingly did.

Tomoguy is a small island, about two miles round, formed like a horse-shoe. On this island rises a hill, which takes up three-fourths of its extent, and on its declivities are plantations of tropical fruits and roots. From this hill, which is rather steep towards the west, many low islands are to be seen. It lies in latitude 0 deg. 15 min. south, longitude 127 deg. 4 min. east.

The vessel being hauled on shore, all hands were employed in cleaning her, both externally and internally, for the Mussulmen are not very neat in their manner of living, and consequently this process was the more necessary.

During their stay here, the captain sent to the Island of Salwatty for some sago bread. They were visited by the inhabitants of several neighbouring islands, and among the rest by some chiefs, to whom the captain behaved with the utmost civility.

Having purchased a corocoro to assist in the intended voyage, Captain Forrest made all possible expedition to get afloat, and to be gone. One night, the house where he had taken up his residence on shore was robbed of some linen and wearing apparel; but though the thief was pursued, he could not be overtaken.

On the 26th, the boat returned from Salwatty, with three thousand cakes of sago bread, all in excellent or-

der. Same day the thief that had committed the robbery was taken, and brought to Mareca's house, but none of the stolen goods were recovered. The captain being asked how he wished to have him punished, made answer, that as the offence was committed on shore, they might punish him after their own way. The culprit was a Papua Coffre, and did not appear much affected at his situation. It seems he escaped with perfect impunity.

On the 27th, a proa arrived with two messengers from the Sultan of Bachian, bringing a letter from their master to Tuan Hadjee, and some presents for the captain. These officers told Captain Forrest, that they had orders from the sultan, to accompany him whithersoever he might think proper to go, and to assist him in every thing to the utmost of their power. The vessel, in which these messengers came, carried eighteen men, with two brass swivel guns, and many bows and arrows.

On the 30th, the captain employed a Papua to make him a wooden anchor, and stipulated for the price. In the evening several persons from Patany assembled at his house to demand betel money; a kind of payment in lieu of customs. Tuan Hadjee was employed to assure them, that it was the intention of the captain to make them handsome presents, as they appeared to be chiefs; and at the same time he expatiated on the liberality already shewn to such as had previously honoured the captain with a visit. This seemed to appease them for the night; but some vigilance and caution were necessary among such people.

Next day, the wooden anchor, which the Papua man had contracted to make, was found cut and defaced, and the workman was observed as if preparing to set off on a journey. The captain feeling resentment at the trick he had put upon him, spoke angrily to him, which excited the rage of the islander to such a degree, that he was glad to pacify it at the expence of ten times the worth of his labour. From the absence

of the Bachian officers at the usual hour of breakfast, and other concurring circumstances, it appeared that the fellow was set on, either to impose on, or pick a quarrel with the captain; and, therefore, he adopted conciliatory means; at the same time arming himself, and such as he could trust, against future insults.

After experiencing various delays from the unfavourable state of the weather, and the slow progress the men made in equipping the vessel, at last, on the 3d of January 1775, they got every thing on board the Tartar, and the corocoro engaged to accompany them, and left the harbour.

Next day they anchored about two miles from Tomoguy. At this place the captain was visited by a Molucca man, who gave him some information respecting New Guinea, telling him that the people were not so barbarous as they are usually represented. Having made this informant a present, he proceeded farther to acquaint the captain, that the Bachian officers were averse to proceeding to New Guinea, as he had learned from a conversation he had overheard. The case was really so; for these people were continually depicting the manners of the Papuas in the most terrible colours.

On the 5th, being joined by his associates in this expedition, the captain in his own vessel and two corocoros in company, left their station near Tomoguy, and rowed to Manafouin Harbour. The captain now named one of the proas the Banguay, and the other the Borneo Corocoro. Tuan Hadjee chose to remain in the former, and he was of too much importance to be dictated to.

During the visits which the chiefs of the islands had made to the captain, it was found that they all treated Tuan Hadjee with peculiar respect. He had made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and his ancestors were of the Serifs, that came from the same place, and gave kings to the oriental countries. These pre-eminences combined, gave him a superior claim to veneration, which was paid without reluctance; and whatever might be

the qualities of his heart, it seems he was a perfectly well-bred and most agreeable companion.

On the 6th of January, when they were about to put to sea, one of the Bachian officers signified to Captain Forrest, that if he meant to proceed to New Guinea, they could not accompany him. The captain replied that it was entirely optional; and accordingly they left him.

Next morning, a gun being fired as a signal for sailing, the Banguay approached, when a person, named Mapalla, a man of some note, called out, that if the Bachian officers declined the voyage, he must do the same.

Without returning any answer to this unexpected address, the captain enquired for Tuan Hadjee, who was not visible. Mapalla answered he was sick. On this the captain was no longer in doubt, that what had happened the preceding day, and likewise the present defection, were to be ascribed to the instigation of Tuan Hadjee.

Captain Forrest now found it necessary to temporize, and to sound this personage, without seeming to insist on any thing. After a long conversation with him about the intended voyage, in which recent events were cast into shade, the captain perceived he was really averse to proceed farther, if he could get off with a good grace; and therefore, to meet his views as far as was prudent, told him, that he himself gave up all thoughts of going to New Guinea; but wished he would accompany him to some of the islands to the north-east of Waygiou, near which they were; that they might be able to give some intelligence on their return to Balamangan. This idea pleased Tuan Hadjee, and he yielded with apparent satisfaction.

While Captain Forrest lay at Tomoguy, he had an opportunity of procuring some information respecting the islands in that vicinity.

At Gilolo he learned that there were no horses, horned cattle, or sheep; and he saw only a few goats

at Tomoguy. On the adjacent islands were many wild hogs, and some deer. The last-named island produces the beautiful crowned pigeons, mentioned by Dampier. These strike hard with their wings, on which there is a kind of horny appendage.

The Mahometans here live mostly on fish and sago bread. They have sugar-canes, which they break in a press, and boil up the syrup for use. A particular kind of green fruit, named cyry, is eaten with the areka nut. This fruit having an aromatic flavour, is an excellent addition to a curry or stew.

Captain Forrest observed the natives had a very peculiar method of drawing blood. They put the rough side of a certain leaf, about as large as a man's hand, on that part whence they wanted to extract blood, then licking the upper side of the leaf with the tongue, the under part is presently covered with blood.

The captain having settled with Tuan Hadjee, that, after visiting the Islands of Aiou and Fan, he should return to Balambangan, the two Bachian officers frankly came to sup with him, and expressed their readiness to accompany him to the islands which lie off New Guinea, but not to the main land. Thus matters were accommodated to the satisfaction of all parties.

On the 8th they got under weigh, and rowed through the strait between Batang Pally and Waglol, where they found good soundings. This strait is about half a mile broad at the narrowest part.

Proceeding along the north-west quarter of Waygiou, a canoe came on board with six people dressed like Malays, whose language they spoke. They belonged to a Dutch Chinese sloop, then in the harbour of Ilkalia, where is a deep strait that divides the Island of Waygiou. They conversed much with the linguist, Captain Mareca, and seemed very curious and inquisitive with him. The captain treated them with all imaginable civility.

In the morning of the 9th they passed the small Island of Ruib; and soon after came in sight of a re-

markable peak, like a buffalo's horn, upon the island of Waygiou, about a league within land.

They now bore up for the Harbour of Offak, and entered it on the afternoon of the 10th.

Next day they took in some water, and fished at the mouth of the harbour for bonetas. Captain Forrest was happy to observe all the people in good humour; and he exerted his endeavours to keep up the mutual good understanding.

Having got into this spacious harbour, the captain employed himself in visiting and surveying it; and, in the mean while, four ovens were set to work on the shore, to bake bread of the sago flour, in order to save the sea stock.

The view of some of the hills on the left of Offak Harbour is beautifully picturesque, and well wooded. On the contrary, there are many spots covered with grass, while others appear destitute of verdure.

At the bottom of the harbour, is said to be a small neck, or carrying place, over which canoes may be easily transported into a large lake, where there are many islands. On the largest resides a rajah. The whole number of inhabitants on Waygiou is computed at one hundred thousand, and war is carried on almost without intermission among the petty princes.

Weighing from the Harbour of Offak on the 12th, they soon discovered the highest and largest of the islands of Aiou, which, by way of distinction, is called Father Aiou. Next morning they came in sight of the high mountains of New Guinea, which the captain was still secretly inclined to steer for, but dared not divulge his sentiments.

Same day they passed a reef, in their passage to the largest of the Aious, and with some difficulty anchored within a mile of the shore.

The following day, some Papua men came on board, in a large corocoro, bringing with them several birds of Paradise, for which they were complimented with calicoes.

Amongst various kinds of fish produced here for sale, was one with a horn about four inches long, projecting from between the eyes. The natives call it *een raw*; it is about twenty inches long; and the tail is armed with two strong scythes on each side. The colour is black. Mr. Banks found the same species of fish on the coasts of New Holland.

On the 15th they went round Aiou Baba, in the pilot's boat, and found it about five miles in circumference. In coming back, the captain went to the small harbour, where the moodo, as he was called, and other chiefs, resided.

Next day the moodo, who had been previously visited by Tuan Hadjee, came on board, with his two wives, who, it appeared, had been taken captive in the Island of Amblou, near Amboyna. One of these females had a little boy by the moodo, who accompanied them. She seemed to have a settled melancholy in her countenance, and was cheered by the sight of Europeans. Captain Forrest treated them with tea, and made them some presents, which proved very acceptable.

The captain seemed surprised that the moodo, who was subject to the King of Tidore, dared to purchase the subjects of the Dutch; but he was given to understand, that the Batavians were too remote to occasion much fear, and that the vengeance they threatened for any insult was always eluded by the artifice of the Papuas.

Captain Forrest gave out, that he was going in search of the Islands of Fan, which he was informed lay about half a day's sail from their present station. Here he dismissed Mareca, the linguist, with such rewards as were most grateful to him. The reason for parting with him so soon was, because the moodo had sold a mulatto, named Mapia, to the captain, who was qualified to supply his place; and, besides, there was a supposed jealousy between Mareca and Tuan Hadjee.

On the 22d they left the Harbour of Aiou, after making some farther presents to the chiefs. A reef,

about fifty miles in compass, surrounds these islands; it is divided by a deep strait, about one mile broad and five long. Through this, ships might pass in safety; and would find various refreshments, such as water, turtle, fish, and tropical fruits.

On the 23d, during a fresh gale, the Tartar galley sprang a leak, and the water quickly rose to three feet in the hold. In this distress, the captain ordered every thing nearest at hand to be hove overboard by his two Europeans; for the Malays in general stood aghast. After much exertion, they began to gain on the leak; but when the gale abated next morning, both the corocos were out of sight. Waygiou was about fourteen leagues distant, and the high mountains of Guinea were in sight.

Thus situated, the captain shewed Tuan Hadjee the absolute necessity of bearing away for the Harbour of Dory, in New Guinea, and to this plan he now consented.

Directing their course with this view, they came in sight of the Cape of Good Hope in New Guinea, on the morning of the 25th, and, following the directions of Tuan Hadjee, who had formerly been there, at last they got abreast of the Island of Youry, when they found the Harbour of Dory open.

Off the mouth of the bay, before the harbour, a boat with two Papuas came on board. Satisfied as to the friendly intentions of the strangers, these people soon became quite easy and familiar.

Soon after, many Papua Coffres came on board. All of them had their hair so much bushed out by a particular mode of combing it, that the circumference of their heads was about three feet. The women had their hair dressed out in a similar manner, and wore small brass rings in the left ear only.

They anchored close to a large house, built on posts, several yards below low water-mark. This tenement contained many families. The boats lie ready to be launched at any time of the tide, if the enemy attacks

from land; and if from sea, the Papuas take shelter in the woods.

The married people, single women, and children, occupy these large tenements; while the bachelors live in separate abodes. This custom is likewise peculiar to the Batta people, in Sumatra, and some others.

At Dory were two large tenements of this kind, and each had an adjoining one for the bachelors. In the common hall, as it may be termed, the women are employed in making mats, or forming pieces of clay into earthen pots. The pots so formed were burned with dry grass, or light brushwood.

The men in general wore a light stuff manufactured from the cocoa-tree, tied forward round the middle and up behind between the thighs. The women were dressed in a coarse blue Surat baftas round their middle, tucked up behind like the men. This, however, very slightly covers them; and as for the children, they go entirely naked. Having come to an anchor, the captain fired some swivel guns, which the adults did not seem to regard, but the boys and girls shewed visible alarm.

Having now opened the hold, the provisions were found greatly damaged by the leak. By washing them, however, in fresh water, and again drying them, part was saved.

Soon after, to their great joy, the Banguay corocoro arrived. The Borneo, it seems, had foundered in the bad weather; but her consort being near, all the people were saved, though with the loss of every thing.

After various unimportant transactions, on the 2d of February, the captain went a fishing with the Tidore Noquedah; but they had no success. This day a boat brought two slaves for sale; each of whom had a rattan collar round his neck, from which was suspended a log of wood, about five or six pounds weight. Captain Forrest being already crowded, declined the purchase. These miserable objects of traffic were natives of New

Guinea, in a distant quarter; they had the gristle of the nostril pierced with a bit of tortoise-shell.

Next night a Papua corocoro came up in search of their wives and children, who, it seems, had fled to the woods for fear of the Tidore people, whom the Papuas did not seem to like.

The 4th being the first day they saw the new moon, the Papuas sang, and played on a sort of drum, the best part of the night. Next day several of the Papuas offered to go among the Haraforas, to purchase provisions, but required goods to be advanced for that purpose; on which the captain advanced them ten pieces of Surat blue cloth and a bar of iron.

On the 8th arrived a boat from the Island of Mysory, with a person on board from the rajah of a district, who, it appeared, had heard of a strange vessel's being at Dory. The captain sent a present for this chief of a bar of iron.

On the 9th, the captain having repaired to the large tenement near where the vessel lay, found the women in their usual occupations, and two of them humming a tune. On this he began playing on a German flute, which instantly commanded all their attention. One of the women was prevailed on to sing, which she did in a melodious strain, far superior to the Malay airs in general. Having made the women a present of some bastas, which they received with much modesty, one of them presented the captain with a large bunch of plantains, part of which he distributed among the children, and carried the rest on board.

When a bachelor wishes to pay his addresses to a female, he freely resorts to the common hall. When they are agreed, which must be before witnesses, they kill a cock, which is procured with some difficulty, and then it is deemed a legal marriage. How simple are the nuptial ceremonies among people who so easily establish themselves in life! They want little furniture, and the earth spontaneously yields them subsistence.

These people are excellent archers: the bow is ge-

nerally of bamboo, and the string of split rattan. Some of their arrows are six feet long. They trade with the Chinese for iron tools and China ware, for which they give in exchange, Missoy bark, and other articles. Slaves also constitute a part of their traffic.

On the 10th they searched Manaswary Island for nutmegs, and the captain promised a reward to such as should discover them. Some found trees, which the Bachian officers said were nutmegs, but they had no fruit on them.

On this island, close by the beach, they saw a Papua burial place, rudely formed of coral rock. On it lay the wooden figure of a child, about eight years of age, completely dressed. A real skull was put into the upper part, on which ears were cut in the wood.

The 13th, being the commencement of the Mahometan year, Tuan Hadjee, and all the persons of his faith, had prayers on shore. They were complimented, on this occasion, with a salute of twelve guns. After prayers they amused themselves in throwing the lance, and went through the exercise of the sword and the target.

On the 15th they revisited Manaswary, and found a nutmeg tree with several nuts on it, not yet ripe. All the Molucca people affirmed it was the true nutmeg, but of the oblong variety. Presently they discovered more trees of this kind, and many young ones growing under their shade. About one hundred plants were picked up and put into baskets with earth, in order to carry them to Balambangan, to which the captain now intended to return as soon as possible.

As the Dory people, who had been sent out with a commission to purchase provisions, were not yet returned, the captain, fearful lest he should lose the advantage of the fair winds, though it most prudent not to wait for them.

On the 17th they discovered a nutmeg tree very near where the vessel lay. The natives said there were many such about the country; but they did not seem

to know that they were an object of any consequence. To the eastward they allowed that many nutmegs were gathered; but did not explain, or perhaps did not know, how they were disposed of.

The captain was much inclined to investigate the coast still farther; but he could not obtain the consent of Tuan Hadjee; nor did the Papuas seem to wish that they should have any intercourse with the Haraforas. Hadjee, who had formerly been among these people, represented them as Coffres in general with long hair; that they commonly built their houses in trees, to which they ascended with great agility, by a long notched stick, which they pulled up after them, to prevent followers.

Being ready to sail from Dory to the neighbouring Island of Manaswary, the captain found that the natives shewed some suspicion, and retired. However, one of them, a kind of linguist, soon followed, who being made a capitano, by giving him a frock and drawers of chintz, and firing off three guns, as is the Dutch custom, he returned well pleased, and vain of his dress and distinction.

Having taken up more nutmeg plants, though they found none of the round sort, the captain, by the unanimous representations of Tuan Hadjee and the rest, was no longer doubtful but they were the right sort.

The country near Dory has a gradual ascent, and is well clothed with lofty trees, without any underwood, which renders travelling pleasant. Schouten's Island, which was said to lie to the north, was not perceptible from thence, and consequently there must be a wide passage between it and the main. Captain Dampier coasted along the north side of this island, and found it full of inhabitants. Captain Forrest thinks that the Island of Myfory may possibly be the same.

The inhabitants of New Guinea, to the eastward of Dory, are said to be fierce, barbarous, and numerous, and have many proas. They carry on a pretty considerable trade with the Chinese.

By giving up the property with which the Dory men were entrusted, Captain Forrest gave them a convincing proof of his amicable disposition towards them; and perhaps used a wiser policy for the future interests of his country, than if he had been more strict in exacting what was justly due.

They now proceeded on their voyage with variable weather. Having an additional number of men on board the galleys, the captain began to be apprehensive lest provisions should run short; for, except now and then a small wild hog, he could procure little animal food at Dory. Indeed, New Guinea has no quadrupeds, save hogs, dogs, and wild cats.

Thus situated, Tuan Hadjee, who saw the probable danger of a short allowance, advised to put into Rawak Harbour, on the coast of Waygiou, for which they accordingly steered.

They reached this place on the 23d, early in the morning, and found here the Moodo of Aiou, with one of his wives and her little boy. They soon filled their water jars, and bought some sago bread from the natives, who came off in boats.

Next day the captain received a visit from the Moodo of Yowl, and one of the King of Tidore's officers, to each of which he made a present of a piece of calico.

In a short space, they procured two thousand cakes of sago, each weighing a pound or upwards; and also bought some fish and turtle. Neither goats nor fowls could be found here.

Leaving Rawak, they bore away for Piapis Harbour, where they found a boat bound to Gibby; but neither house nor inhabitant. This vast harbour has two capacious bays, in either of which is good anchorage, and fresh water near.

On the 3d of March, they again made sail, with a view of anchoring at Pulo Een; but when they reached this place, they found it unsafe. Seeing the impossibility of getting to the northward of Gilolo, without going near Patany Hook, where the Dutch constantly

have cruizers, they bore away in the night; and hauled as much as possible to the westward, but could not get to the northward of Bo. Near this place they picked up some excellent cockles, about the size of a man's head.

Towards sun-set on the 5th, they anchored close to a small island, covered with cocoa-trees; and were soon visited by several boats, in one of which was the Papua man who had formerly carried Tuan Hadjee from Gag to Tomoguy. From these boats they procured a seasonable supply of dried fish; and learned from the people on board them, that the Dutch had got notice of their having repaired at Tomoguy.

The two clusters of islands, called Bo and Poppo, lie nearly in the same parallel of latitude, in 1 deg. 17 min. south, and about the longitude of 126 deg. east. They are well peopled, and are capable of furnishing cocoa-nuts, salt, and dried fish, besides some goats.

Having finished their business, they sailed at midnight on the 5th, and steered west. After passing several inferior islands, by day-break on the 9th they came in sight of Pulo Pisang.

On the 11th, with the tide or current favouring, they drove up under Tapiola; but did not venture to cast anchor, on account of rocky ground. The shape of this island resembles a cat couching. Next day they brought to on the coast, and landing, dug for water; but it was found brackish, and unfit to drink.

Intending for the Canary Islands, near Mysol, they again weighed, and steering on, came in sight of the islands they were in quest of, and soon anchored near the largest.

Being destitute of inhabitants, and of consequence, without provisions, the captain was induced to direct his course to the harbour of Ef-be in Mysol; and the tide being favourable, they soon reached the west point of that island; and just before it was dark they got into the harbour, where they found soft but tenable ground. As the corocoro had not been seen for several

days, it was imagined she had stopped somewhere a turtling.

After firing three guns, next morning, as a compliment to Tuan Hadjee and the Bachian officers, the captain went on shore, but soon returned. He found a village consisting of about twelve houses.

Next day, a person who called himself the secretaris, and two others, apparently persons of distinction, came on board. The secretaris had been employed as a writer by the Dutch; and from him the captain understood, that the Governor of Banda had sent, two months before, to obtain intelligence of the English vessels reported to be in those seas; but that he could procure little satisfactory information. These persons having received some presents, were saluted with three guns at their departure.

On the 20th, the captain and attendants went to Linty, about four miles distant, where they dined with the secretaris and the other gentlemen who had visited them a few days before.

After dinner, they went up an ascent to a Mahometan tomb, constructed of stone and mortar, and white-washed; and from this site they had a view of many small islands which line this coast.

Tuan Hadjee having received various goods in lieu of pay for his men, was very liberal in the distribution of his presents at this place; and the less property unappropriated the captain had on board, the more his mind was at ease; as if the crew should be ill-disposed, the temptation was diminished.

In the evening the captain returned, having purchased a black lory, the only one of that colour he ever saw, and several birds of Paradise with their feet on.

The gentlemen at Linty, who had entertained them at dinner, observed that these birds of Paradise, at certain seasons, arrive in flocks from the eastward, or from New Guinea; and that they are caught with

bird-lime, and have their bodies dried with the feathers on, as an article of traffic among the curious.

These distinguishing ornaments of the feathered creation, about which so many fables have been invented, are said to constitute the following species :

1. The great bird of Paradise, from Aroo.
2. The little bird of Paradise, from Papua.
3. 4. Two different species, chiefly black, from New Guinea and Tidore.
5. The white bird of Paradise, which is very rare.
6. The unknown black bird of Paradise, one of which was shewn in Amboyna.
7. The king's bird, which Linnæus ranks among birds of this kind. It is chiefly brought from Aroo, though the natives never find its nest there.

During Captain Forrest's stay at Mysol, it was natural to suppose he would make enquiries respecting the clove and nutmeg. He was assured that neither was produced on that island; but that cloves grew on some parts of Ceram, the high mountains of which were preceptible in a clear day. Ouby also was reported to contain cloves. This island is chiefly inhabited by run-away slaves. It is under the jurisdiction of the Sultan of Bachian, who, however, uses it only on account of the pearl fishery on its coasts.

Ouby had more than once been in sight in the course of this voyage, but Tuan Hadjee constantly dissuaded the captain from approaching it; representing that the infallible consequence of this step, would be detection by the Dutch, and the danger of being way-laid by their armed corocoros, of which great numbers are kept in constant readiness at Amboyna.

In Ef-be Harbour, where they then lay, they were not more than fifty leagues distant from that island; but as the people among whom they were seemed ill-affected to the Dutch, they trusted to their fidelity for secrecy.

Having repaired the corocoro, and kept up a friendly intercourse with the chiefs, by means of presents

and other flattering compliments, on the 31st of March they found themselves ready to sail.

This morning Tuan Hadjee was visited by the lady of the Rajah of Salwatty, whose husband had lately been circumvented by the Dutch, and sent to the Cape of Good Hope, where he still remained a prisoner. The history of this transaction is as follows: About the year 1770, a number of Papua boats, from New Guinea, Aroo, Salwatty, and Mysol, having assembled about the vernal equinox, when the seas are generally smooth, sailed up the Strait of Patientia, which divides Bachian from Gilolo. They committed no hostilities, and after the Dutch had distributed a few presents among the chiefs, the greatest part dispersed; but, owing to some infatuation, for it does not appear he had any particular object in view, the Rajah of Salwatty was left behind.

This appearance roused the jealousy of the Dutch, and they invented a stratagem to get the rajah into their power. The Governor of Ternate dispatched a written message to his highness, informing him that a bag of dollars, and his choice of goods in the company's warehouses at that place, with every respect and honour due to his rank, awaited him, should he be inclined to favour the governor with a visit, as he was now in the vicinity.

The bait took: the unfortunate rajah, with ten or twelve of his people, entered the fort, and was received with civility and respect by the governor. He laid out his dollars in purchases, seemed happy in the reception he had experienced; but, when he was about to retire, he was desired to surrender. His attendants were ready to run a muck on the occasion, to save their master, or to sell their lives dear. The mild rajah whispered them to provide for their own safety; and as the chief made no resistance, they were suffered to escape.

On the last day of March, they rowed out of the harbour of Ei-be, and presently saw a large corocoro

coming from towards Ceram, which put them on their guard; but she soon took another course.

As they proceeded to the eastward of the Great Kanary, they found a watering place; and casting anchor, took in a supply, and procured many Kanary nuts, about the size of an almond, full of oil, and very luscious.

Weighing again, they stood over to Long-Island, and anchored within a land-locked harbour, which was named Round Harbour. Making an excursion into the woods, they cut a new foremast and bowsprit of bintangle wood, which is light but strong, and of a fir-like colour. Here they found abundance of rattans; but no cloves or nutmegs. This day four of the people, amusing themselves in the boat, overset her on purpose, and turned her bottom up, merely to shew their dexterity in righting her, which they did with astonishing celerity.

On the 7th they had thunder and lightning; and at night by torch-light they caught many fish, by striking them with lances in shallow water. They also procured some turtle eggs. These islands seemed quite unfrequented; and probably were never visited by Britons before.

In the night of the 11th, they passed between Gibby and the Islands of Yo and Utu. This passage is about five miles broad. Gibby seems to be about twelve leagues in circumference, and is divided into two hills, with a low neck between. Off the north-west end of Gibby appears an island, behind which, it was said, some French ships had lately lain, and procured many nutmegs and clove plants from Patany, which they carried to Bourbon and Mauritius.

Tuan Bussora, one of the Bachian officers, whose family lived at Gibby, went off in the night in a small corocoro, unknown to the captain; but as he left slave behind, it is probable he meant to return, though as the wind was fair, it was not judged prudent to wait for him.

On the 12th, coming in sight of two small flat islands, and unwilling to keep the open sea with uncertain winds, in the track of the Dutch cruisers, the captain offered a reward to twenty rowers, if they could reach land. This made them exert themselves; and towards night they cast anchor in the straight between the two islands, where they caught several excellent fish.

In the morning the captain went ashore on Syang, the larger of the two islands, and found good water. The weather threatening, they secured the vessel in the best station they could find.

With an appearance of fine weather, they weighed on the 15th, but were carried entirely out of their course by a strong current. This induced them to row back to Pulo Eye, where they again dropped anchor.

Next day they ran behind Pulo Syang. The trees there, in general, appeared low but green. Having sent the boat ashore, they filled the jars with good water; but, in attempting to weigh, they had the misfortune to part the cable.

On the 17th they made a rapid progress; and came in sight of the high land of Gilolo. This island continued in sight for some days. On the 20th they saw Morty, a pretty high island towards the centre, but rising with a moderate acclivity from the shores.

Having passed some other islands, in the morning of the 22d they ran between the Islands Kabruang and Salibabo into the Harbour of Leron, where they cast anchor, and hoisted Dutch colours. Immediately a blind Chinese, who spoke Malay, came to question them; but a small present seemed to satisfy him that all was right. Same day the captain went on shore to visit the two Rajahs of Salibabo, to each of whom he gave a piece of tappies; and obtained their permission to trade with the natives for provisions. It appeared that the people of this island were at war with the inhabitants of the opposite island. A man's head, still dropping with blood, presented a shocking spectacle

near the landing-place, as it hung suspended from the branch of a tree.

Next day many canoes came on board, from which they procured kalavansas, potatoes, rice, and two goats, in exchange for calicoes and red handkerchiefs. These islands are well cultivated, and abundantly populous.

Hearing that a proa lay about two miles off to be disposed of, the captain sent Mr. Lound, the gunner, to examine her; that in case she should be found proper for his purpose, he might change her for the galley, which was become leaky. Being informed however, that she also wanted repairs, it was resolved to proceed in the former vessel with all expedition.

Accordingly they weighed, and having got clear of the strait which separates the two islands, they proceeded for several days without any remarkable occurrence.

On the 29th, they anchored near Serangani, which indeed consists of two islands. Tuan Hadjee went on shore, and soon returned with a pilot, who carried them into the strait that separates the islands, where they found a good station.

In a short time several canoes came on board with cocoa-nuts and fowls, and offered some yellow wax for sale. The island is but partially cultivated; however, on landing, the captain found many lemon trees, laden with fruit, remarkably small.

Here they saw many Mahometan graves, shaded with trees which bore white flowers, tinged with yellow on the inner surface. The Malays call them Bunga Mel-lora: they yield a very fragrant smell.

On the 1st of May, getting under sail, they soon came up with the Island of Magindano; and coasting along it, they were visited by several of the natives, who paid great homage to Tuan Hadjee, whom they had known before; and, at his desire, the captain made them some presents.

With various winds and weather, they continued their course, occasionally lying to; and on the 7th,

discovered the Island of Bunwoot, part of which appeared like a wedge; and this afternoon they entered the River Pelangay, commonly called Magindano River.

But a short retrospective view of Bally, where Captain Forrest anchored in his voyage, may not be unpleasing to the reader. The natives, who are Gentoos, soon came on board in little canoes, with outriggers. On the edges of one these canoes, the captain put a gang cask, with which the owner paddled into a fresh water river, and in twenty minutes returned with it full, for which service he was paid in China cash. Others volunteered the same service; and this agreeable officiousness of the natives prevented our voyagers from risking their own boat ashore.

In the afternoon, the Rajah of Carang Assem honoured the captain with a visit. He sang as he came on board, with only one attendant. His nails were remarkably long. In the road lay several proas laden with rice, extensive fields of which lie in the vicinity.

The island of Bally is well cultivated on the south side, and many of the grounds are inclosed. It is full of inhabitants, who spin large quantities of cotton yarn, which the Chinese export to Bencoolen and other parts. Provisions are cheap, and together with the manufactures of the country, may be readily had in exchange for iron, cutlery, and opium.

Here not only the women sacrifice themselves on the death of their husbands, but men also burn in honour of their deceased masters. Those who come to this dreadful determination, are not limited to time. They name perhaps a distant day; and in the meanwhile they are treated, by the superstitious natives, with peculiar veneration. On the fatal day, a loose stage of boards is erected, by the side of a large fire: this the devotee mounts, dancing and working himself up to an enthusiastic pitch, which having reached, he skips to the end of a plank, and this tilting with him, he is precipitated into the flames. That a custom so

horrid, so repugnant to the first law of nature, self-preservation, should exist among any people, is a phenomenon that nothing but the certainty of the fact can explain to an enlightened understanding.

The Island of Magindano, on the coast of which they now lay, may be about eight hundred miles in circumference. The Spaniards, though they have subdued the north coast of the island, were never able to subdue the whole. They wish to consider it as one of the Philippines, to enlarge their dominions; but this compliment is seldom paid them by other nations.

The Magindano tongue is copious and energetic, and has many Chinese idioms. The natives have different names in their childhood, and when they reach maturity; and in this too they resemble the Chinese. They likewise resemble that nation in many of their manners and customs.

This island, as it appears from authentic history, was early visited both by the Chinese and Arabians. The latter indeed were great discoverers, and seldom failed to subjugate the countries they had discovered. Their religion contributed to their influence, wherever they resorted. Their frequent ablutions recommended the self-evident virtue of cleanliness, of which the practitioners in warm countries only know the luxury.

The trade also of such an island as Magindano, where the uncivilized inhabitants were in want of many simple necessaries, was a great inducement to the Moors to establish themselves there; where they met with returns in gold, wax, and cinnamon.

The town of Magindano stands about six miles from the bar of the River Pelangay. This river is as wide as the Thames at London Bridge. The town consists of little more than twenty houses, which stand close together. Opposite to it lies the town of Selangan, of considerable extent, containing, among other structures, the sultan's palace; and adjoining are some irregular streets where the Chinese reside.

The country is altogether thinly peopled; and where

ground is of little value, the Mahometans, and Gentoos more particularly, crowd their habitations on the banks of rivers, to enjoy the facility of performing their stated ablutions.

While Captain Forrest lay here, he visited the famous saltpetre cave, situated near a creek of the River Tamantakka. Having climbed a hill, he says, about a quarter of a mile, he came to a hole about ten feet in diameter. By means of poles laid in a slanting direction, he descended about thirty feet, to a circular area of twenty-five feet diameter. Exactly in the centre of this area is a hole, which, together with the light from above, serves to make objects pretty distinct.

He then descended through a sloping passage, which will admit only one man at a time, into a magnificent round hall, with a flat floor of earth. From the top hung something like icicles, and from the side sprang others, which, rising five or six feet towards the dome, looked like the clustered columns of gothic architecture. The dome is about twenty-five feet high, and the hall about thirty feet each way.

From this apartment, he passed, on the same level, into a crooked gallery, about two hundred yards long. It was about seven or eight feet broad, and from eight to ten in height. The top and sides resembled a dirty free stone: the floor was level, but very miry. Around flew a number of bats;* many of which, by means of the hook-like appendages to their wings, clung to the roof and sides.

Returning, the captain saw the entrance into another passage or gallery, and felt a small draught of air, which made the torches burn clear. This passage he was told went to another outlet; but at a distance so great, that the guides had never ventured to explore it.

* Combes says, that in the caves of Mindano are bats as large as fowls, and that saltpetre is made of their excrement. *Risum teneatis!*

As our author went in barefooted, he found the miry stuff so very glutinous, that it was with difficulty washed off from his feet. To make saltpetre, the natives mix one measure of this miry substance with two of wood ashes, and then filter through it the water of which the saltpetre is made. The gunpowder manufactured here has but little strength, and is coarse grained.

But to return to the history of the voyage.

Having got about two miles within the bar, the captain was visited by Rajah Moodo, who had already obtained information of the arrival of a vessel with English colours. In the same boat was a natural son of the rajah, who strongly importuned Captain Forrest to proceed to his father's fort at Coto Intang, and not to the sultan's.

This young man, whose name was Dattoo Enty, with an attendant, slept on board the galley that night, and was regaled with tea and sago bread.

Next morning they got in sight of Selangan, and immediately saw a white ensign, bordered with a chequer of blue, yellow, and red, flying on a wooden fort, which Dattoo said was the residence of his father; and repeated his instances, that the captain would pass the sultan's, which intervened, and proceed directly to it.

Being abreast of the sultan's fort, a Buggess man, with whom the captain had been acquainted at Balambangan, came with a message from the Sultan, to inform him that Balambangan was taken by the Seuloos, and that it would be most advisable to stop there.

This caution being communicated with an air of mystery, the captain lay on his oars, and was soon carried by the tide abreast of the sultan's fort, which he saluted with five guns, and received the same compliment. He then weighed and proceeded to Coto Intang, where similar salutes were interchanged.

Having walked into the fort, the captain found Rajah Moodo, and his father Faky Molano, seated on

European chairs. They received him and his attendants, Tuan Hadjee and the Bachian officers, very graciously.

The rajah was a man of a good stature and piercing eye: Molano of low stature, but pleasing countenance, and communicative disposition.

Chocolate being served, they entered into conversation. The captain announced that he had a letter and a present for the sultan, from the chief of Balambangan, which he meant to deliver the same day. The rajah observed that it was very well; and that his brother-in-law, Dattoo Bukkalyan, should accompany him to the palace.

The sultan, on the captain's being introduced, received the letter and present, and told him he was safe at Magindano, on either side the river; adding that Rajah Moodo was to be his successor. He used an interpreter, though he was capable of speaking Malay. He invited the captain to visit him often, and, after asking many indifferent questions, they parted.

Three days after, he visited the sultan again, and found the Sultana Myong at the farther end of the room, but she did not even deign to cast a glance at him.

The sultan had the character of being a weak man, and Rajah Moodo, being in possession of the crown lands, held the sinews of power. This made the captain pay particular court to him, and studiously to avoid connection with any person who was regarded by him with jealousy or dislike; a caution which political dissensions, among the chiefs of the royal family, rendered peculiarly necessary.

The captain had now the prospect of staying several months in this place, till the monsoon should shift and enable him to return to Borneo, whither, he heard, the English had retired, after their retreat from Balambangan.

Having at first attached himself to Rajah Moodo, he was comfortably lodged in the fort, and the vessel

was hauled upon dry ground. The prince shewed him every civility, and was convinced of his wish not to offend, by the circumspection he observed in his intercourse with others.

On the 10th, the rajah and his father, Faky Molano, honoured the captain with a visit, and presented him with a young bullock. Next day he dug a dock for the galley, against the ensuing spring tides; and during this piece of duty, found Tuan Hadjee's people very unruly, supported probably by their master, whose conduct was visibly changed, since he heard of the taking of Balambangan.

On the 13th, Captain Forrest wrote to the rajah, acquainting him, that it was his intention to proceed to Balambangan, to hoist English colours, and desiring the assistance of some of his people; with a view of getting rid of Tuan Hadjee and his rebellious crew.

The rajah soon after paid him a visit, and made a plausible excuse, alleging, that such a step might cause a misunderstanding between Magindano and Sooloo. Tuan Hadjee, who was present, threw out some reflections on the English company, for which the captain gave him a warm retort, and to prevent farther altercation, next day paid him off and all his adherents before witnesses. Hadjee seemed inclined to make some unjustifiable demands, respecting the corocoro, which had been purchased at their joint expence; and it appeared that he wished to ingratiate himself with the rajah, to the prejudice of the English. All this, however, was obviated by the firm and honourable conduct of the captain.

However, on the 17th, Mr. Baxter, the mate, who had preserved some nutmeg plants with great care, preferred a complaint against one of Hadjee's followers, for having stolen them from his apartment, and presented them in his master's name to the rajah. The captain observed this was a delicate affair; and advised him not to notice it. It seems the nutmeg plants in general had been spoiled by the sea-water,

but these, from particular care, were in better preservation, and were afterwards seen growing in the rajah's garden.

The captain having made proper acknowledgments to the Bachian officers, presented them with the Banguey corocoro, in lieu of the one they had lost on the coast of New Guinea; adding, that when they were disposed to return to their native country, he would do justice to their conduct in a letter to their sovereign. These persons appeared grateful and satisfied; but it was evident they were in every respect too much under the influence of Tuan Hadjee.

On the 22d, the captain set out on an excursion with Datoo Enty, to visit Tubug and the Island Ebus. Next morning they entered Tubug Harbour, and waited on the rajah, whose wooden fort was well furnished with brass swivel guns, taken from the Spaniards. The rajah paid his visitors great respect, and entertained them handsomely at supper, in company with his lady. The captain made him a present of a piece of calico; and having spent the night here, set out the next day for the Village of Brass, opposite to which lies the beautiful Isle of Ebus.

This village consists of about twenty houses, and stands at the mouth of a small river. Proceeding to take a view of Ebus, after satisfying their curiosity, they embarked, and returned to Magindano.

On the evening of the 1st of June, the captain and his two officers were invited to sup at Rajah Moodo's. The table was covered with about twenty China plates or dishes, tolerably filled with fish, fowl, and roasted goat. The rajah was present, but contented himself with his usual supper, a cup of chocolate. Next day the cold victuals were sent to the apartments of the English. This was the ancient Roman mode of hospitality; how the Asiatics could learn it, or which borrowed from the other, we must leave to those who are fond of such useless enquiries to decide.

A few days after, the captain went up the River

Melampy in a Mangaio vessel, which was full of people, going to pay homage to the tomb of their great ancestor the Serif, who first came from Mecca. This monument consisted of a heap of coral rock stones, rudely piled up, under some spreading trees near the river. The devotees lighted each person a bit of wax candle, and placed it on the tomb.

On the 6th of June, Captain Forrest received a letter from the Sultan of Sooloo, in which he laid the blame of the capture of Balambangan on Dattoo Teting.

For many days nothing happened worthy of being recorded. On the 28th, the captain and Dattoo Enty visited the adjacent Isle of Bunwoot. In returning, near the bar of the Pelangy, they stopped at a village, whose inhabitants were making salt in the following singular manner:

Having first set fire to a pile of wood, and, to check the flame, kept it continually wet with sea water, till the wood is reduced to ashes; they next put the ashes into conical baskets, and pour on fresh water, which carries the salt into a trough. The lye is then put into earthen pots, and boiled till it crystalizes, or is capable of being granulated.

In many parts of the east, salt is made by the heat of the sun evaporating the aqueous particles of the sea water: this process would be successful at Mindano; but the natives have not yet got into that simple way.

On the 7th of July, Subadan Watamama, one of the royal family, fell sick. He was an illegitimate cousin of the Rajah Moodo. The captain going to visit this personage, found him in the large hall on a sumptuous bed, and surrounded by visitors. He appeared very feverish, and the captain approaching, with the usual ceremonies, told him what he thought would be of service to him, and then retired.

Next morning, Captain Forrest carried a medicine he had compounded for the patient, and found his wife and his daughter, Fatima, attending him. The

former would by no means suffer him to taste the medicine. Molano, who was present, then proposed that the captain and he should divide the physic between them, which, to prevent injurious suspicions, was complied with. Some hours after, Molano, meeting the captain, took him by the hand, and, with a smile, told him his physic was very good.

On the 27th of July, Watamama departed this life. The dismal yell set up by the females immediately gave notice of the event. The carpenters, who had some days before set about making his coffin, now redoubled their strokes, and early next morning the coffin was carried to the grave. About noon, the corpse, covered with a white sheet, was borne on the bedstead by young men, chiefly related to the deceased; and when they came to the grave, the body being first put into the ground, the wooden coffin, without a bottom, was laid over it, and earth thrown in till the coffin was hid three feet. Over this, water was poured from China decanters; and thus the melancholy ceremony closed.

Next day, a kind of shed was built over the grave, and a temporary floor of boards being laid, the widow of the deceased took up her abode there for about a week; during which time the distant relatives made merry at the house, feasting on bullocks, which are only killed on important occasions. They also sang dirges in honour of the defunct, and for the repose of his soul.

While Captain Forrest was assiduously employed in superintending the repairs of the galley, a proa arrived from one of the Spanish settlements, having an envoy on board, with letters to Rajah Moodo. This gentleman was a native of the Philippine Islands, and bore the rank of ensign. He had a sergeant with him, and six Manilla soldiers, who lodged without the fort.

Soon after, a large proa, belonging to Dattoo Malfalla, the rajah's brother-in-law, came in from a cruise on the coast of Celebes. She had engaged a Dutch

sloop, the crew of which, seeing it impossible to save her, attempted to set her on fire, and then took to their boat. Notwithstanding the flames, the attackers boarded her, and stripped her of several valuable articles.

About this time the captain learned that Tuan Hadjee had been at Tukoran, where he had married the sister of Rajah Moodo's wife, daughter to the sultan of that place. Before he left Mindano, or any misunderstanding had arisen between him and the rajah, he had promised to return to Mindano, and to take the command of a vessel to cruise against the Dutch in the Molluccas. A kind of piratical war had, for some years, been carried on against that nation, on account of an attack on Mindano.

On the 7th of August, as the captain was about to cross the river, to visit the sultan, he was informed by the rajah, that he was indisposed, and that he had just sent for him and Faky Molano, so see them.

The captain, in consequence, postponed his visit; and in a few hours saw the rajah again, who returned in high spirits, and said he had been embracing many of his relations, whom he had not seen for a long time. A misunderstanding had long subsisted between the members of the royal family; and the sultan, finding no other way of reconciling them, feigned illness, and invited them all to his palace, for the benevolent purpose of seeing them made friends again.

The sultan's palace is about one hundred and twenty feet long and fifty broad. The first floor rises fourteen feet from the ground. Thirty-two strong wooden pillars, in four rows, support it. The intercolumniations between the outer rows are excessively slight; so that both light and air intervene. The two inner rows of columns are covered with scarlet cloth, to the very top, where, at the height of twenty feet from the first floor, they support the roof, which is covered with sago tree leaves.

A slight moveable partition divided the whole into

two unequal parts. The first part, being about a third of the whole, was floored with planks, on which six pieces of cannon were mounted. The inner apartment was covered with split aneebong, a kind of palm, about half an inch apart, and covered with matting or carpets, which admitted the air from below.

Between the two farther pillars of this apartment, stood the state bed, which was covered with mats, and had benches round it, which formed convenient seats. Much elegance was displayed in the decoration of this apartment, which was furnished in a splendid style, according to the fashion of the country.

Such is the description of the sultan's palace, which the captain visited, by invitation from his highness, on the 7th of August.

The sultan sat on the ground in the inner hall; Rajah Moodo was seated about eight feet from him, nearer the door; and the company was ranged before them. On one side, at a distance, were seen the Sultana Myong and some young ladies: on the other side a party-coloured curtain of silk was dropped, before which the sultan sat. Captain Forrest was seated on Rajah Moodo's right hand, and next him was placed the Spanish envoy.

The assembly consisted of about twenty persons, and the sultan having generally addressed them in the Mindano tongue, said to the captain in Malay, "Captain, you bring good fortune; when you arrived there was darkness; now there is light." This alluded to the family misunderstanding, which was now made up. Captain Forrest replied, "he was happy to hear such news."

Before each person was placed a large brass salver, a black earthen pot of water, and a brass cuspadore. The salver supported small plates, containing sweet cakes of different kinds, round a large China cup of chocolate. By way of distinction, the captain and the Spanish envoy, as Christians, had red water pots, and glass tumblers for their chocolate.

About ten o'clock the company began to depart, when the captain took his leave also. This ceremony is no more than lifting the right hand to the head, with a slight inclination of the latter.

The 10th was kept as a festival at the sultan's, on account of two females of the royal family coming of age, to have their ears bored, and their beautiful white teeth stripped of their enamel and stained jet black. This rite is performed on the Mindano ladies at thirteen years of age, and is sumptuous in proportion to their rank.

The morning was ushered in by the beating of jongs and the firing of guns. Booths were erected for the accommodation of spectators, and numbers were invited from all quarters.

Part of the entertainment consisted of feats of agility, in a kind of mock combat, which recalled the ideas of tilts and tournaments. A champion, armed cap-a-pié, entered the area, and without any real opponent, worked himself up into an apparent frenzy, and displayed a mimic courage of the most ferocious kind. Even a little boy, about ten years of age, was so far inspired with this mock heroism, that when his friends took him off, he struggled as if in convulsions.

The sultan himself, and Faky Molano, entered the square to display their agility; but their attendants soon interfered; as they rightly conceived that such violent emotions were little adapted to their years.

These mock combats and feats of agility continued for ten days; during which a number of guests were daily entertained with sweet cakes and chocolate. The operation of piercing the ears being then performed, the young ladies were exhibited to the company from behind a curtain, and afterwards being introduced to the sultana, sat down by her. This ceremony seems equivalent to the introduction of females of distinction, in Europe, at court. It ranks them among women.

On the 20th, Captain Forrest was invited to another entertainment at the sultan's, where he was served in

the most sumptuous manner; and next day, all the viands which had been left were sent to his lodgings, which supplied his crew for some days. Some of the sweet cakes and comfits he distributed among the Chinese of his acquaintance, who highly valued the present, on account of its coming from the palace.

A few days after, Rajah Moodo's lady paid a visit of ceremony to the sultana, with one hundred and four women in her train. When she arrived opposite the sultan's palace, all the attendants of the sultana, in a shrill voice, pronounced the word *You* thrice, in a lengthened tone, and afterwards the monosyllable *We*. These, it seems, are sounds of salutation given at a distance to ladies of high rank. No man can join in the exclamation; but now and then a dog howls in unison, to the great entertainment of the populace.

Rajah Moodo's consort was dressed in flowered muslin, with large fillagree gold ear-rings. Her attendants, on entering the palace, squatted down on the floor, and amused themselves at a kind of chequer board, with glass beads, flat on one side, and of various colours. The Malays call this game *damahan*. At night, about fifteen young ladies formed a crescent, moving slowly in a circular direction. The lady who led this troop, sung a few minutes, after which she fell into the rear; and then another advanced and sung as in emulation. This continued till each had gone through the same ceremony.

The men never mix with the women in any amusement of this kind, nor take any particular notice of them. Though words, smiles, or looks, are not forbidden, they are seldom used as among Europeans. Women of rank, in walking abroad, assume a precise step and air: their faces are rather shaded than concealed. Women seldom talk to any but women in public; but in their houses no particular reserve is used in this respect.

After our voyager had been some time at Mindano, he found that the country produced gold, cassia, and

wax, and as is generally supposed, the genuine cinnamon. These advantages made him very desirous of obtaining the grant of one of the small islands in the vicinity, where a fort and a factory might be established. In every respect, the isle of Bunwoot, facing Mindano River, seemed most eligible; but he was fearful of asking a grant of this spot, lest it should be considered as too great a favour to be conferred

However, after some time had elapsed, Rajah Moodo, probably knowing his wishes, and desirous of giving him a proof of his friendship in anticipating them, told him, that he was ready to bestow Bunwoot on the English, and did not doubt but the sultan would acquiesce in the grant. The captain made due acknowledgments; and on the 3d of September, when the sultan and some of his nearest relations, came to dine with Moodo, he had the pleasure to be informed by the sultan, that he had come to the resolution of granting Bunwoot to the English company, and desired to know if he meant to sail directly to Balambangan, or wait till intelligence could be procured from thence.

Grateful for his munificence, the captain paid him the compliment to say, that he would obey his commands in this matter; and expressed his desire to visit the island, which his country was about to owe to the bounty of the Sultan of Mindano.

This wish proving agreeable to his highness, a boat and attendants were ordered to accompany the captain to Bunwoot, where he landed and examined the place; and, soon after his return, the grant of the island was formally signed and sealed.

He now dispatched a messenger with this intelligence to Balambangan; but the boat finding none of the English there, proceeded to the Isle of Labuan, near Borneo Proper, where the packet was delivered to Mr. Herbert.

Meanwhile the captain took another survey of Bunwoot, where he found a harbour, and planted some vines and garden herbs. The circumference of this island is about sixteen or seventeen miles, and it is well clothed with trees, which shelter many hogs of a very wild na-

ture. Monkeys, guanos, and snakes, said to be venomous, were also found here. The timber trees are various and of a large size, with little underwood, except rattans, and a certain trailing plant, called byonos, resembling a vine, which when cut into short lengths and bruised, discharges a white juice, that answers all the purposes of soap. It also produces rose wood, dammer trees, and a tree which yields the gum called curuang.

The soil is a black mould, about eighteen inches deep, on a bed of stones and rocks. It contains few springs, but many ponds of rain water. On the whole, however, it appears a valuable and fertile island.

Captain Forrest, despairing of finding the English at Balambangan, repaired his vessel in the completest manner that circumstances would permit, to enable him to prosecute his voyage to Borneo. He made several excursions to Bunwoot, and over the continent of Mindano; but met with few interesting occurrences.

On the 30th of December, he witnessed the preliminary marriage ceremonies between the eldest son of Dattoo Utu, and Noe, the sultan's grand-daughter. The preceding day the portion was carried in great parade, from the bridegroom's father's to the sultan's palace. As presents are usual on such occasions, Captain Forrest gave the Rajah Moodo, and some others of the royal family, such articles as he conceived would be most acceptable.

In the evening of the 30th, the solemnity commenced. A large company being assembled at the sultan's, Rajah Moodo put the question to the guests, if it should be a match. All answered, with a loud voice, in the affirmative. A priest, or serif, then walked into the middle of the floor, and taking the bridegroom by the thumb of the right hand, asked if he consented to take Noe for his wife and to live with her according to the law of Mahomet; to which he answered, I WILL. The company then gave a loud shout, and guns were immediately discharged. The lady did not appear, and consequently had no questions to answer.

Captain Forrest sailed before the tenth day after this act of betrothing, so did not see the conclusion of the ceremonies; but, during his stay at Mindano, he had been present at the marriage of one of Rajah Moodo's daughters to the son of an Illano prince.

On that occasion, the bridegroom being questioned by the priest, as before, and having signified his assent, went immediately and seated himself by the young lady, who turned away from him with feigned reserve. At this the company smiled; but the bride still continued her apparent indifference, though the bridegroom strove to attract her regard by numerous assiduities.

At last, on the tenth night, she was, with seeming reluctance, conducted, in the presence of all the company, by two women, towards a large bed in the same hall, and put within a tripple row of curtains, where the bridegroom following, the curtain dropt, and the whole company set up a loud shout, which they continued for some minutes, and then dispersed.

It seems, in the Moluccas, the woman is obliged thrice to pronounce her promptitude to obey, on which the husband is exhorted by the priest, not to touch his wife with lance or knife; but if she disobeys, to chastise her gently with a handkerchief.

On the 7th of January Captain Forrest applied privately to Rajah Moodo, the sultan, and Faky Molano for leave to depart. Having consented to his request, he made his best acknowledgments to those personages, for the numerous civilities they had shewn him, and distributed some presents.

Rajah Moodo entrusted him with two letters, one to his majesty, the other to the company, with suitable presents. The same night he got under way and passed the bar.

Rajah Moodo, after a pretty long intercourse, was found to be a sincere and generous prince. He was a man of excellent understanding, and possessed uncommon acuteness of parts, which was visible in his very looks. He had only one wife, who was daughter to the

Sultan of Tukoran; but, according to the custom of the country, he kept fourteen or fifteen concubines, who slept on mats, bespreading the floor of a large hall, while he and his lady occupied a stately bed. This lady, whose name was Potely Pyak, spoke Malay correctly, and was fond of singing an air in that language, which Captain Forrest taught her.

Ambo jugo burra bansi, bansi,
 Dudu debowa batang,
 Ambo jugo ma nanti, nanti,
 Manapo tidado datang.

Which may be rendered thus,

I play on a pipe, a pipe,
 Repos'd beneath a tree;
 I play; but the time's not ripe,
 Why don't you come to me?

The elegant arts are not much cultivated here. They have, however, goldsmiths, who make fillagree buttons and ear-rings, and other trinkets; but their blacksmiths are incapable of fabricating any thing that requires more ingenuity than a common nail.

The Mindanoese at least bathe once a day, and generally oftener. They are moderate in eating and drinking. Rajah Moodo, exclusive of his dish of boiled rice, and a few ounces of dried or salt fish, generally made his dinner on chocolate, drinking only water after it. Such abstemiousness, indeed, is universal among the Malays.

For theft, the offender loses his right hand, or pays threefold. Maiming is punished with death, and adultery is capital to both parties. Fornication however is commuted by a fine; or if a slave makes a slip, her hair is cut off as a mark of infamy.

Property descends in equal shares to sons, and half to daughters. This seems to be a very wise and equitable regulation. The law of primogeniture, the worst relic of the feudal system, will perhaps prove one day

the ruin of every country where it remains in force. It renders the heir of great estates dissipated or indolent, and the younger branches of the family dependant and necessitous.

When there are no children, brothers, and sisters of the whole blood inherit; but if there are neither brothers nor sisters, nephews, nieces, nor first cousins, the sultan claims the estate for the poor. If a man puts away his wife, she obtains a third of the furniture, and also money in proportion to circumstances.

The form of government is in some measure monarchical. Next to the sultan is the rajah moodo, his successor elect; then the mutsingwood, or superintendant of polity, and the captain lout, or commander of the navy. There are also six manteries, or judges, nominated by the sultan, and six amba rajahs, or asserters of the rights of the people. These officers are hereditary.

The vassals of the sultan, who possess large estates, are called kanakan. The revenues are generally raised in the fruits of the earth; but sometimes a certain proportion of money is imposed. The currency, in most parts of the country, is the Chinese kangan, a piece of coarse cloth sealed up in bundles of twenty-five, which are then called gandangs. They have also another currency denominated kousongs, a kind of nankeen died black. Dollars are scarce in Mindano; but there are several copper coins.

The men tie up their hair in a singular manner, fixing or covering it with a circular piece of wood, five or six inches in diameter, and half an inch thick. This lies flat on their heads, and, the hair being done up, both above and below it, has a graceful appearance.

The women tie up their hair behind, and plait it after the manner of the Indian dancing girls, on the Coromandel coast. They wear a kind of petticoat, besides a jacket which is common to both sexes, and a cloth bound round the middle, and coming up between the thighs.

Mindano is said to produce the true cinnamon, but it seems to be little regarded. The numerous virtues of this plant render it one of the most valuable in medicine. The oil is a very powerful cordial; the camphor extracted from the root, is well known for its efficacy in the cure of many distempers. The leaves, too, produce an oil of camphor of high value. In short, there is no part of the cinnamon tree that is not of use in physic. Nothing, however, is more difficult than to obtain the different preparations from the cinnamon in a genuine state. The more valuable any commodity is, the more liable it is to be adulterated.

But to return to the history of the voyage. After leaving Mindano, Captain Forrest proceeded to Bunwoot, and after a short stay there, directed his course to Lutangan, and, on the 12th, anchored in Kamaladan Harbour, where he found the Banguay corocoro with Tuan Hadjee, and one of the Bachian officers, who said they were bound to Samboangan. Several Sooloo proas were lying at the same place. Here he took in some sago, being disappointed in rice which he expected to find.

Leaving this harbour, he passed Basilan, and some other islands, and on the 15th descried Tonkyl, a small low island, where he had stopped at the commencement of the voyage.

The wind being unfavourable for his weathering Sooloo, he came to, under the Island of Bankoongan, which forms a good harbour, near the mainland of Sooloo. Apprehensive of falling into the hands of the Sooloos, he gave out, that the vessel belonged to Magindano; but fortunately, a fresh gale springing up, he passed to the eastward of that island, where he saw several boats fishing for pearls.

It would be uninteresting to attend our voyager through his various soundings and nautical remarks. Suffice it to say, that on the 27th he anchored between Banguay and Balambangan, and found nothing but desolation at the latter.

This induced him to steer for Borneo, and in a short

time he fell in with the *Speedwell* snow, with Mr. Herbert, late chief at Balambangan, on board, bound to Madras, which had no sooner parted than he came in sight of the *Antelope* and *Euphrates*, the former of which carried Messrs. Broff and Salmon, who had charge of the company's affairs on that coast.

On the 10th Captain Forrest steered for the mouth of Borneo River, and at midnight anchored abreast of the resident's house, where he found the *Luconia* snow, belonging to the company. Next morning, having saluted the factory, he waited on the president, Mr. Jesse, who received him with much cordiality.

After some necessary repairs, he took his leave of the resident on the 27th of February, and rowed down the river. On the 7th of March he arrived in Atcheen Road, The *Tartar* being examined here, was found in such bad condition, that it was determined to quit her. Accordingly the men were paid off, and Captain Forrest embarked on board a sloop bound for Fort Marlborough, where he arrived the latter end of June, and gave an account of his proceedings. Some resolute Malay men, having undertaken to navigate the *Tartar* to the same place, she soon after came in, when it was found that her bottom was wholly destroyed by worms, and it astonished every person that she had swam so long. Never, indeed, was a more dangerous voyage performed in such a small vessel. The skill and good conduct of Captain Forrest were universally allowed; and though his voyage was not pregnant with any new discoveries, it will ever be valuable to mariners and geographers; nor is it destitute of general information.

VOYAGE OF
CAPT. HENRY WILSON,

PRINCIPALLY RELATING TO HIS SHIPWRECK

ON THE

PELEW ISLANDS,

AND SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS.

FEW narratives have attracted a more considerable share of the public attention than this. Other voyages are more fertile in important discoveries, and embrace a wider range of action; but this is marked by features that interest the heart of sensibility, and give it a claim to the regard of the philosopher, the patriot, and the Christian. A people have been brought to light by accident, whose amiable manners, and virtuous qualities, evince no small progress in social refinement, and whose humanity to our countrymen in distress must ever endear them to Britons.

It is but justice to say, that the work from which the following pages are abstracted, is composed by the ingenious Mr. Keate, from the most authentic documents furnished by Captain Wilson, and verified by the coincident testimony of the principal persons concerned in the transactions recorded. The original account of the Pelew Islands will not be superseded by this epitome; yet the narrative was too captivating, and too valuable, not to be included in our collection, and to be given at as great length as the nature of our plan would permit. Though the subsequent volume will be more particularly appropriated to Shipwrecks, we were unwilling to throw this into the general mass of nautical disasters; and, indeed, in many respects, it differs from their common tenor; for whatever Cap-

tain Wilson and his crew might suffer at the moment of imminent danger, we are convinced that, in the event, they scarcely considered that as a misfortune which was instrumental in bringing them acquainted with the natives of Pelew.

It is somewhat remarkable, that although these islands lie at no very great distance from the common track to China, yet it does not appear that any Europeans ever landed on them. They were not, however, totally unknown. In the "*Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*," we find an account of this Archipelago, of which the Palos, or Pelew Islands constitute the fifth division; the other four consisting of the islands which are now known by the name of the New Carolines. Le Pere Cantova tells us, that a boat with twenty-four natives of the Caroline Islands, being driven by stress of weather on the coast of Guahan, he had used every method to get information from them concerning the rest; and that he was informed, "that the people of the Pelew Islands were inhuman and savage; that both men and women were entirely naked, and fed upon human flesh; that the inhabitants of the Carolines looked on them with horror, as the enemies of mankind, and with whom they held it dangerous to have any intercourse." From this and every other information that can be procured, it appears, that, for a long series of years, the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands have been separated from the rest of mankind, even those most contiguous to themselves. Their ignorance of the existence of white people, abundantly evinces their being total strangers to Europe, at any rate.

The name given by the Spaniards to these islands, is the Palos Islands; which indeed is the name by which all the Caroline Islands formerly went; probably owing to the number of tall palm trees with which they are covered, having the appearance of masts of ships at a distance. The Spanish word *palos* signifies a mast.

But to proceed. Captain Wilson, of the *Antelope* Packet, in the service of the British East India Com-

pany, about three hundred tons burthen, sailed from Macao in China, where she had arrived a few weeks before, on her passage homeward, on Sunday the 20th of July, 1783.

As, in the sequel of this narrative, there will be occasion to mention the names of the ship's company, the following list of them may be useful to explain their situations.

Names.

Stations.

Henry Wilson,	Commander.
Philip Benger,	Chief Mate.
Peter Barker,	Second Mate.
John Cummin,	Third Mate.
John Sharp,	Surgeon.
Arthur William Devis,	Passenger.
John Blanch,	Gunner.
William Harvey,	Boatswain.
John Polkinghoron,	Carpenter.
John Meale,	Cooper and Steward.
Richard Jenkins,	Carpenter's Mate.
James Swift,	Cook,
Richard Sharp,	Midshipman.
Henry Wilson, junior,	Midshipman, son to the Captain.
John Wedgeborough,	Midshipman.
Robert White,	Midshipman.
Albert Pierson,	Quarter Master.
Godfrey Minx,	Quarter Master.
Thomas Dutton,	Captain's Steward.
Thomas Rose, native of Bengal,	Linguist.

And, Matthias Wilson, the Captain's brother; Thomas Wilson, Dedrick Windler, Zachariah Allen, John Cooper, James Bluitt, Thomas Castles, William Roberts, Nicholas Tyacke, William Stewart, Madan Blanchard, Thomas Whitfield, William Cobbledick, and James Duncan, Seamen. Besides these, Captain Wilson was allowed sixteen Chinese, to keep the ship's complement of hands complete.

On Monday the 21st they got clear to sea, having discharged the pilot, and taken leave of several gentlemen, who accompanied them a few leagues. From the 23d of July, to the 8th of August, they had very stormy unsettled weather, during which their fore-top-mast sprung, and all their live cattle died. On the 9th, the weather became more moderate; so that opening their ports they dried the ship; examined their stores and provisions, and proceeded cheerfully on their voyage, flattering themselves their distress and danger were now fairly past; little apprehending the misfortunes that were so quickly to overtake them.

Early on Sunday morning, the 10th of August, a strong breeze sprung up, attended with much rain, thunder, and lightning. Captain Wilson had gone to bed about twelve, and Mr. Benger, the chief mate, commanded on deck. While the seamen were busied in reefing the sails, the man on watch exclaimed, breakers! which he had scarce pronounced, when the ship struck. It is not easy to express the consternation which ensued; all who were in bed below, were immediately on deck, enquiring the occasion of the noise and confusion. Too soon they learned their dismal situation. In less than an hour the ship bulged, and filled with water up to the lower deck hatchways. During this scene of horror and dismay, the seamen eagerly besought the captain to direct them, and his commands would be obeyed with alacrity.

Captain Wilson's first orders were, to secure the gunpowder and small arms, and to get on deck the bread, and such other provisions as were liable to be spoiled by the water, and cover them from the rain. As the ship took a heel in filling, there was some reason to fear she might overset: to prevent which, they cut away the mizen-mast, the main and fore-top-masts, and lowered the fore and main yards, to ease her. The boats were then hoisted out, and filled with provisions; a compass and some small arms, with ammunition, and two men being put into each, with directions to

keep them under the lee of the ship, and to be ready to receive their ship-mates, in case the vessel should part by the violence of the wind and waves, as it then blew an exceeding strong gale.

Every thing being now done that prudence could dictate in so trying and distressful a situation, the officers and people assembled on the quarter-deck, that part being the highest out of the water, and best sheltered from the rain and sea by the quarter-boards; and waited for day-light, in hopes of seeing land; for as yet they had not been able to discern any. During this dreadful interval, the anxiety and horror of which is much easier to be imagined than described, Captain Wilson endeavoured to revive the drooping spirits of his crew, by reminding them, that shipwreck was a misfortune to which navigators were always liable; and that although theirs was rendered more difficult and distressing, by its happening in an unknown and unfrequented sea, yet he wished to remind them, that this consideration should only rouse them to greater activity, in endeavouring to extricate themselves: and, above all, he begged leave to impress on their minds this circumstance, that whenever misfortunes such as theirs had happened, they had generally been rendered much more dreadful than they would otherwise have been, by the despair of the crew, and by their disagreement among themselves. To prevent which, he most earnestly requested each of them, separately, not to taste any spirituous liquor, on any account whatever; and he had the satisfaction to find a ready consent given to this most important advice.

This displays, in a most remarkable manner, the presence of mind which was preserved, and the prudence that was exerted by Captain Wilson, in one of the most trying situations to which human nature can be exposed. It shews also, in the most unequivocal manner, the temper and disposition of his officers and the whole crew, and pronounces their eulogium in the most impressive terms.

As they were almost worn out by the excessive labour they had undergone, two glasses of wine and some biscuit were given to every man aboard; and they waited for day-break with the utmost anxiety, in hopes of discovering land. Meantime they endeavoured to support each others spirits as much as possible, and, by the captain's direction, put on as many clothes as possible to carry with them, in the event of getting safe from the wreck. And, let it not be forgotten, among many other remarkable instances that occurred in the course of this voyage, to the honour of this crew, that the utmost cordiality prevailed amongst them. None attempted, in the hour of confusion, to touch his neighbour's property, nor to make free with what had been interdicted them.

The dawn discovered to their view a small island, at the distance of about three or four leagues to the southward; and as the day-light increased, they saw more islands to the eastward.

They now began to feel apprehensions on account of the natives, to whose dispositions they were utter strangers. However, after manning the boats, and loading them in the best manner they were able, for the general good, they were dispatched to the small island, under the direction of Mr. Benger, the chief-mate, who was earnestly requested to establish, if possible, a friendly intercourse with the natives, if they found any; and carefully to avoid all disagreement with them, unless reduced to it by the most urgent necessity.

As soon as the boats were gone, those who were left in the ship began to get the booms over board, and to make a raft for their security, if the ship should go to pieces, which was hourly expected. At the same time, they were under the most painful apprehensions for the safety of the boats, on which all depended, not only with regard to the natives, but with regard to the weather also, as it continued to blow very hard.

But in the afternoon they were relieved from their

fears on this head, by the return of the boats, with the welcome news of their having landed the stores in safety, and left five men to take care of them; and that there was no appearance of inhabitants being on the island where they landed: that they had found a secure harbour, well sheltered from the weather, and also some fresh water. This favourable account revived them, and they proceeded in completing their raft with fresh vigour, having been allowed another glass of wine with biscuit. A very distressing accident, however, happened this day; the mizen-mast being found near the ship's stern, and part of the rigging entangled with the mizen chains, Godfrey Minks was employed to clear it, and while he was thus employed, unluckily slipt overboard. The boats were immediately sent to his assistance, but without effect.

Having finished the raft, they loaded it, together with the jolly-boat and pinnace, with as many stores and provisions as they could bear, consistently with the safety of the people who were to be carried off; and, as the day was advancing, the captain summoned all the people aboard. Indeed, so busily were they employed in bringing as much as possible with them, that it cost some pains to get them all collected. Their feelings on quitting the *Antelope*, going they knew not whither, were of the most distressing nature. The stoutest of the hands were put on board the pinnace, which took the raft in tow and moved slowly on, till they had cleared the reef; while the jolly-boat, which was of little service to the raft, proceeded along to the shore, and joined their companions that had been left in the morning. They found a tent ready for their reception, and a spot of ground cleared for the stores.

The situation of those aboard the pinnace and the raft, till they cleared the reef, was terrible indeed. The great swelling of the sea was such, that they repeatedly lost sight of each other, and those on the raft were obliged to tie themselves to the planks with ropes,

to prevent their being washed off; whilst the horror of the scene was increased by the screams of the Chinese, who were not accustomed to the perils of the deep.

When they had fairly cleared the reef, they got into deep smooth water, in the channel running between the reef and the islands; but on approaching the land, they found a very strong current, which drove them considerably to leeward. They soon found that they could not resist its impetuosity, and therefore, having brought the raft to a grapnel, all the hands got aboard the pinnace, to relieve the rowers: meanwhile, the cargo of the jolly-boat being unladen, Captain Wilson was returning in her, to assist those aboard the pinnace. The night was by this time dark, and the captain overhearing them at a distance, hailed them. Those aboard the pinnace, overjoyed at the near prospect of relief, returned the halloo, in a manner so unusual, that Captain Wilson immediately concluded they were natives. He was the readier to form this idea, as he had just learned from those on shore that, from various circumstances, they had reason to conclude there had been natives on that spot very lately; he therefore retreated to the shore with the utmost precipitation. Happily, however, they were soon relieved by the arrival of the pinnace, when all the company shook hands together (need it be added) with great cordiality. They made a homely supper, and having lighted a match by the discharge of a pistol, they kindled a fire in the cove, by which they dried their clothes and warmed themselves. The night proved very uncomfortable, as the weather was exceedingly tempestuous; while the fear of the ship going to pieces before they could save other necessaries from the wreck, not a little heightened their distress. Lest they should be surprised by the natives, they set a watch, and slept on the ground by turns.

Next forenoon being the 11th, proved very stormy; they attempted to bring off the raft in vain, and were

obliged to leave it, carrying with them however the sails and the remainder of the provisions.

In the afternoon, the weather was more moderate, and the boats were dispatched to the ship to bring off what they could; while those on shore were employed in brushing up the small arms.

The evening set in very squally, and as the boats did not return from the ship till about ten o'clock, those on shore were not a little alarmed about their safety; nor were they much easier, when, on their return, they learned, that the vessel was in such a situation, as made it exceedingly probable she could not hold together till morning.

When we consider their situation with this prospect before them, it must be granted that the vicissitudes of human life have seldom produced a coincidence of circumstances more peculiarly distressing. The only hope they had of yet floating and repairing the vessel so as to return to China, now to all appearance impracticable—ignorant where they were, or among whom—separated not only from wives, children, and home, but from all mankind, except, perhaps, a race of savages, as they naturally supposed—without any prospect of relief—and at the same time shivering under a storm still more tempestuous than the former night—these combined, bring to view a situation, which humanity cannot think of without commiserating their lot.

In the morning it blew exceedingly strong, so that the boats could not go off to the wreck. The men, therefore, employed themselves in drying their provisions, and forming better tents from the materials which they had brought from the ship the day before. About eight o'clock in the morning, the people being employed as above, and in clearing the ground from the wood which was behind the tents, Captain Wilson, with Tom Rose, being on the beach, collecting the fresh water which dropped from the rocks, saw two canoes, with men in them, coming round the point into the bay. This gave such alarm, that the people

all ran to their arms: however, as there were but few of the natives, Captain Wilson desired them to keep out of sight until they should perceive what reception he met with, but to be prepared for the worst. They soon perceived that the natives had seen the captain and Tom Rose, for they conversed together, and kept their eyes stedfastly fixed on that part of the shore where the English were. The natives advanced very cautiously towards them: the captain directed Rose to speak to them in his own language, the Malay; which they at first did not seem to understand; but they stopped their canoes, and soon after one of them asked, in the Malay tongue, who the strangers were, and whether they were friends or enemies? Rose was directed to reply, that they were Englishmen, who had lost their ship on the reef, but had saved their lives, and were friends. On this they seemed to confer together for a short time, and then stepped out of the canoes into the water, and went toward the shore. Captain Wilson instantly waded into the water to meet them, and embracing them in the most friendly manner, led them to the shore, and presented them to his officers and unfortunate companions. The natives were eight in number, two of whom, it was afterwards known, were brothers to the rupack, or king, of the neighbouring islands, and one was a Malay, who had been shipwrecked in a vessel belonging to a Chinese, resident on the Island of Ternate, one of the same group of islands: he had been kindly treated by the king, who, he said, was a good man; and that his people also were courteous. He told them farther, that a canoe having been out a fishing, had seen the ship's mast; and that the king, being informed of it, sent off these two canoes at four o'clock that morning, to see what was become of the people who had belonged to her; and they knowing of the harbour which the Englishmen were in, had come directly thither.

Being about breakfast hour, Captain Wilson, Tom Rose, and only a few others, breakfasted with them to

prevent suspicion; and in the course of their short conversation, a wish was hinted to be informed, by what means the Malay they had brought with them had reached their islands. The Malay, who could indistinctly speak a few sentences both in broken Dutch and English, gave some farther account of himself; but from his future conduct and behaviour, there was great reason to suspect his veracity. It was, however, fortunate that they found a person with whom their linguist could converse.

The natives were of a moderate size, but admirably proportioned and very muscular. Their hair was long and black, rolled up in a peculiarly neat manner close to their heads. Except the younger of the king's two sons, none of them had beards. They in general plucked out the hairs by the roots. They were quite naked, and their skins of a deep copper colour.

They were conducted round the cove, and, to the great surprise of the English, walked on broken rocks, shells, and thorny plants, with the greatest ease.

They were now enabled to support a mutual conversation, by means of the Malay man, on the part of the natives, and Tom Rose on that of the English, and thus had an opportunity of examining one another as to the different appearances which occasioned mutual surprise.

From this first interview, as well as what happened afterwards, it was evident that the natives had never before seen a white man, and were ignorant of the existence of any such. The natural surprise at seeing them may therefore be well conceived.

The appearance of clothes was quite new to them. At first, indeed, they were at a loss to determine whether the man and his dress were not of the same substance.

Nothing afforded them greater surprise than the sight of two dogs belonging to the ship, which immediately on their approach set up a loud bark, to the great delight of the natives, who answered them in a

shout almost as violent. In these animals they took a great delight, as, except a few grey rats, there are no quadrupeds on the island.

Captain Wilson was exceedingly anxious to keep them ignorant of the nature and use of fire-arms; but one of them accidentally picking up a small leaden bullet, surprised at its weight, examined the Malay about it, who requested one of the muskets to explain its use and effect. They seemed very desirous that one of the English should go with them in their canoes to their king, that he might see what sort of people they were. Every one agreed that this step would be advisable; but, as difficulties arose concerning who the person should be that should venture himself, the captain requested his brother, Mr. Matthias Wilson, to undertake the office; who readily consented; and about noon one of the canoes left the harbour, having Mr. Wilson with them. The other canoe, with four persons, among whom was Raa Kook, the elder of the king's brothers, and who was also general of his armies, remained with the English of their own accord, until the canoe returned with Mr. Wilson.

The captain directed his brother to acquaint the king who they were; to relate to him, as well as he could, the nature of their misfortune; to solicit his friendship and protection, and permission to build a vessel to carry them back to their own country. He also sent a present by him to the king, of a small remnant of blue broad cloth, a canister of tea, another of sugar candy, and a jar of rusk. The last article was added at the particular request of the king's two brothers.

During the absence of Matthias Wilson, they had an opportunity of getting more intimately acquainted with Raa Kook, whom they found a most amiable character indeed. Observing a piece of polished bone around his wrist, they took occasion to enquire into the meaning of it. He informed them, it was a mark

of great distinction, conferred only on the blood royal, and principal officers of state; and that he enjoyed it as being the king's brother and commander in chief of the forces both by sea and land. Raa Kook's friendship was therefore cultivated with all imaginable assiduity, and he, in return, shewed himself attached to them by a most attentive politeness: he imitated them in all their actions, and on every occasion shewed them how high an opinion he had formed of them. The Malay on his first arrival had requested to be indulged with a jacket and trowsers, which were readily granted, and an uniform coat with trowsers were at the same time given to Raa Kook, who put them on, but was soon wearied of them, as he found them cumbersome. He examined into the most minute actions, and was at no little pains to learn from the cook the method of blowing up the fire with a bellows.

In the morning of the fourteenth, two canoes arrived, in which were Arra Kooker, the king's other brother, and one of the king's sons. They informed Captain Wilson that his brother was on his way back; but that the canoe in which he was could not make so much speed against the wind as theirs, which occasioned the delay. The king, by their means, offered them a hearty welcome to his territories, and assured them of his friendship and protection; he also desired them to build a vessel in any part of the island they inclined, and that he and his subjects would willingly afford them every assistance in their power. Raa Kook then took his nephew and introduced him particularly to the captain and his officers, and conducted him round the cove, explained every thing agreeable to the information he himself had just received, and seemed mightily pleased with his friend's astonishment. This young man was very well made, but had a slit in his nose, probably the consequence of a wound in battle, or a scrophulous taint which was common among the natives.

In the forenoon two boats were dispatched to the

wreck. They found a number of the natives, in about twenty canoes, busied in examining the vessel; these Raa Kook soon dispatched; and on this, as well as on every occasion, did every thing in his power to convince the English of his protection and friendship.

Meantime the people were highly entertained with Arra Kooker, who proved to be a most facetious entertaining man; possessing uncommon talents for mimicry and humour. He described, by many diverting signs, the terror of Matthias Wilson while at Pelew; who it seems had been under very great apprehension. But they were all revived with his appearance, and the account he gave them of his embassy, to the following effect:

“ On the approach of the canoe in which I went to the island where the king lives, a vast concourse of the natives ran out of their houses to see me come on shore. The king's brother took me by the hand, and led me up to the town, where a mat was spread for me, on a square pavement, and I was directed to sit down on it. In a little time the king appeared, and being pointed out to me by his brother, I rose and made my obeisance after the manner of eastern nations, by lifting my hands to my head, and bending my body forward; but he did not seem to pay any attention to it. I then offered him the presents which my brother had sent by me, and he received them in a very gracious manner. His brother now talked a great deal to him, the purport of which, as I conceived, was to acquaint him with our disaster, and the number of us; after which the king ate some of the sugar-candy, seemed to relish it, and distributed a little of it to several of his chiefs; and then directed all the things to be carried to his own house. This being done, he ordered refreshments to be brought for me.

“ A great crowd of the natives had by this time surrounded me, who were curious and eager to examine my clothes and person. But as it began to be dark, the king, his brother, myself, and several others.

retired into a large house, where supper was brought in, consisting of yams boiled whole, and others boiled and beaten together, as we sometimes do potatoes. There were likewise some shell-fish; but I could not determine what they were.

“ I spent the next day in walking about the island, and observing its produce, which consisted chiefly of yams and cocoa-nuts; the former they cultivate with great care, in large plantations, which are all in swampy watery ground, such as the rice fields in India. The cocoa trees grow very near the houses, as do also the beetle-nuts, which they chew as tobacco.”

Matters proceeding in this favourable train, the captain, with great prudence, suggested the propriety of having the liquor casks on board the wreck, lest either the natives or the mariners, by indulging to excess, might be thrown off their guard, and give occasion to misunderstandings. This advice was instantly complied with, and nothing can give us a higher idea of the regular conduct of the crew, and the affection they bore their commander, than their readiness in giving up their favourite indulgence, which they did without a murmur.

In a short time after this, the English were informed that the king was coming; and in less than an hour, they saw a great number of canoes turning the point which formed the harbour. But the king stopped as soon as he got within the bay, and directed one squadron of the canoes, which were all armed, to retire to the back of the island; thinking, probably, that so great a number of armed people would create an alarm among the strangers.

He then advanced with the rest in great form, and with much parade, as far as the tide, which was then low would permit them; and it was signified to Captain Wilson, by the king's brothers, that he should go and meet him.

Accordingly, two of his own people took him on their shoulders, and carried him through the water to

the king's canoe, which he was requested to enter; and he and the king, whose name was Abba Thulle, embraced one another.

The captain then related the nature of their misfortune to Abba Thulle, by means of the two Malays, and repeated his request to be permitted to build a vessel to carry them home; and the king again, in a very courteous manner, gave his permission for them to build it, either where they were, or at the island where he resided; but recommended the latter; adding, that the island on which they landed was unhealthy, which was the reason it was not inhabited; and that he apprehended they would be ill, when another wind began to blow, which he said would be in two moons. The captain informed him, that they had a person with them whose business it was to cure diseases; and that it would be very inconvenient to them, if they removed farther from the wreck of their vessel, because they could not then procure from her such things as they might want, without much trouble and loss of time. To these reasons the king assented; and making signs that he wished to land, the captain was carried on shore by his people, and Abba Thulle, stepping into the water, followed him.

On his landing, he looked about him with a good deal of apparent suspicion, which however, was soon removed. Raa Kook made up to him, and a sail being spread for him, agreeable to their practice, the chiefs of his company sat also down, forming a square; and his other attendants, to the amount of about three hundred, inclosed them in a circle, squatting down at the same time in such a position, as that they could rise in a twinkling. Captain Wilson offered him some tea, which he did not seem to relish, and then made him a present of a piece of cloth, and some ribbons, which pleased him very much. He was quite naked, as well as his brothers, and without any bone on his wrist, or other ornament. He carried a hatchet of

iron on his shoulder, which was so adapted to it, that it gave him no inconvenience.

Abba Thulle, the king, was introduced by Captain Wilson to the officers and all his men; and upon being told that Mr. Benger was second in command, he named him the kickaray rupack, supposing Captain Wilson to be the king of some country; but when he was made to understand that he belonged to a mighty sovereign, and that he was only his captain, he readily got hold of the word captain, by which name he constantly saluted him afterwards, and Mr. Benger he called kickaray captain, as second in command.

The king then enquired for Captain Wilson's badge of supremacy, which put him to a stand. Luckily Mr. Benger slipped his ring into his hand which being produced, and the manner of wearing it shewn, pleased Abba Thulle not a little, as it carried some affinity to their own mark of dignity.

Raa Kook having, as before mentioned, examined every thing belonging to the English very minutely, took much pains in pointing them out to the king; they went through the tents, in which every thing surprised them; nor did the difference between the Chinese and English escape their notice. Raa Kook, at the same time, gave his brother to understand, that there were many different nations and classes of mankind on the earth; who were frequently at war with one another, as he often was with his neighbouring islanders. Abba Thulle appeared to despise the Chinese exceedingly because they had no muskets.

But nothing seemed to strike Abba Thulle with more astonishment than the firearms, with which Raa Kook endeavoured to make him acquainted. He expressed much anxiety to see them used, which Captain Wilson ordered immediately to be done. He desired Mr. Benger to cause the sailors to go through their exercise drawn up on the sea beach, being then low water, while he explained their motions to the king. The men went through various evolutions, with

great readiness, marching backwards and forwards, and concluded with three volleys, in different positions.

The astonishment and surprise of the natives, on hearing the report of the muskets, is not easily conceived; indeed, their hooting and hallooing produced a noise little inferior to it. Captain Wilson judged it expedient to be guilty of a little profusion of their powder on this occasion, in order to impress the minds of the natives with a more enlarged idea of the power of the English; a design which was fully answered by it. But still farther to shew them the effects of their firearms, Mr. Benger ordered one of the live doves which they had to be let loose, at which he fired, and immediately brought it down, with a leg and a wing broken. This surpassed every thing in their estimation; indeed they now seemed to be lost in wonder and amazement.

Raa Kook was, by this time, pretty well acquainted with such articles as the English had about them, which he took great pains in pointing out to the king his brother: that which seemed principally to draw their notice, was a grind-stone, which they turned round with great satisfaction, observing the effect it had upon pieces of iron; they also examined the tents, and the culinary utensils. But the dogs were the greatest fund of entertainment to them, with whose barking they were so much delighted that they kept a continual uproar with them, and it was found necessary to confine them. The king examined the English as to their provisions, and was presented with a piece of ham and a live goose which had been saved.

Abba Thulle was vastly pleased with what he had seen, and proposed going away. This was notified to his attendants by a loud shriek from one of his officers, which gave not a little alarm to the English. It was instantaneously obeyed. They all rushed to their canoes with great alacrity, and the king with the greater part of the natives took leave of them.

Raa Kook remained with the English all night, as

did the king's son and a few of their attendants. Captain Wilson ordered two tents to be pitched, one for the principal people, and the other for the commonalty. He continued himself with Raa Kook and his party, after the guard was set, for some hours. The natives in the distant tent, anxious to pay all attention to their visitors, prepared to sing a song, according to their country mode.

Their method of tuning their voices for this purpose, was attended with sounds so very dissonant and harsh, that the English thought they were beginning their war-whoop, or giving a signal to the king, and those with him, to attack them. Impressed with this idea, every man seized his musket and ran to the tent where Captain Wilson was, supposing him to be in the most imminent danger. But they were soon agreeably undeceived, and attended to the song, which was conducted in the following manner. A chief gave out the line, which a company next him took up and completed the verse. The last line they repeated, and it was taken up by the next party, who also sung a verse. They continued their song some time, and made signs for our people to repay them in kind, which was done by a lad, named Cobbledick, to their great satisfaction. The manner of this lad's singing was afterwards mentioned to the king, who, upon hearing him, was so much pleased, that he never met with him afterwards without desiring him to sing, which of course was complied with.

We come now to mention a circumstance which presents these natives of Pelew in a light that could not have been preconceived; a circumstance which discovers such nice feelings, as, on the one hand, displays human nature in a very pleasing attire in this her native dress; while, on the other, it may put to the blush enlightened nations and individuals. The English had no other means for again revisiting their native homes, but by constructing a small schooner; and, for this purpose, had only a few instruments saved from the

wreck. These they carefully concealed from the natives, who had shewn a particular attachment to iron, and instruments made of that metal. Accidentally a chief had observed where they were, and requested a cutlass from Captain Wilson. The captain was loth to part with it, but fearing worse consequences in case he refused, thought it best to give it. As they went out of the tent, Raa Kook observed it with great displeasure, took it from him, and returned it to Captain Wilson.

In a few hours the Malay coming ashore, told the captain he had given great offence, by offering a cutlass to an inferior officer, and neglecting the king and his brothers. In order to make up matters, Captain Wilson thought it best to present each of the king's brothers with some cloth and ribbons, which were very coolly received—they seemed to be unhappy. In the afternoon the king came round from the back part of the island, where he had spent the night, and Captain Wilson went out in the jolly-boat, with Tom Rose, to meet him. Now Abba Thulle, who had been so happy and pleased the day before, appeared with a gloomy reserve, and the poor Englishmen trembled in anticipating the dreadful effects of the displeasure which they thought he was meditating. But the real cause of the uneasiness, which evidently depressed them all, was nothing more than a struggle in their own breasts, how they should ask a favour from strangers almost wholly in their power, without having the appearance of a command. This marks a delicacy of mind which ranks the natives of Pelew high in refinement.

It appeared, a neighbouring nation had injured them, and as they meant to attack them in battle in a few days, they very justly foresaw the advantages which would arise from the presence of a few of the English sailors with firearms. At length, with much evident confusion, Abba Thulle hinted it to Captain Wilson, who immediately assured him he might at any time

command his men*, who were entirely at his service. No sooner was this answer notified by the interpreter, than every countenance brightened up, and cordiality and happiness were restored. The king immediately dubbed the captain a brother rupack, entreated him to send some of his people to the part of the island where he lived, to carry him whatever provisions they needed, and concluded with assuring him that the natives were entirely at his service, to assist in constructing their vessel, or any thing else in their power.

He immediately retired to the opposite side of the island, promising to return next morning for the men. Nor was the happy settlement of this affair less agreeable to the English than the natives. The fear of having incurred the displeasure of those whose favour was so necessary, had distressed them not a little; and each strove to shew his zeal by wishing to be selected for the expedition proposed. At last, five young men were chosen and properly equipped. They were headed by Mr. Cummin, the third mate.

Meanwhile every preparation was made to build a schooner, in which they might return to China; and the alacrity every person shewed to lend his assistance in this important business, was an earnest of their future success. Many necessaries were recovered from the wreck, and trees were felled to supply the rest.

On the 25th, the five English warriors returned in safety, after acquitting themselves to the satisfaction of the king, and putting his enemies to flight by the effect and terror of their firearms. For this service, the Island of Oroolong, where they then resided, was given to the English by Abba Thulle.

On the 31st of August, Captain Wilson paid a visit to Pelew. Mr. Devis, Mr. Sharp, and Harry Wilson,

* Nothing but the peculiarity of Captain Wilson's situation could justify him in joining in hostilities against a people who had done him no wrong; but circumstances influence the best of us.

accompanied the captain on this visit. The English went in their jolly-boat, attended by Raa Kook and other natives in a canoe.

About one o'clock they reached Pelew, fired six muskets, and fixed their colours in the ground at the end of the causeway where they landed. Raa Kook conducted them to a house, where they waited the arrival of Abba Thulle. Meantime the natives thronged into the house to have a view of the English, bringing along with them various refreshments and sweat-meats. In a little time it was notified that the king was at hand, when, notwithstanding the multitude then present, the greatest silence prevailed. On his arrival, Captain Wilson embraced him as at first meeting, and presented him with a few trinkets, which were very agreeably received.

Abba Thulle now proposed to conduct them to the town, which is about a quarter of a mile from the landing-place where they were. The English, in order to assume some little formality, carried their colours before them. They passed through a wood, and then came to a fine pavement or causeway. There were large broad stones laid in the middle for the ease of walking, and lesser ones on the sides. This led them to the town, where they were conducted to a large square pavement, surrounded by houses. In the centre stood a larger house than the rest, which was allotted to the English for their accommodation. In it there was a number of women of a superior rank, being wives to the rupacks, or principal officers of state, who received them very politely, and presented them with cocoa-nuts and sweet drink, of which all partook.

In a little the king, after a suitable apology to Captain Wilson, retired to bathe, and a message was sent from the queen, expressing a wish to be favoured with the company of the English at her house. Thither they all repaired, and were seated in a little square before the house. It appeared that this lady was the principal wife of Abba Thulle, and great attention was

paid to her by all. The king resided almost constantly at her house. She appeared at the window, and, by means of Raa Kook, examined into the various peculiarities in the appearance of the English which struck her. She sent them a broiled pigeon, which is the greatest rarity the island produces, and is held in the highest estimation. It is unlawful for any but rupacks and their wives to taste them.

After satisfying her curiosity, they were conducted by the general to his house, where they met with a most gracious reception, and had an opportunity of observing the benevolent heart of this worthy man in domestic life. In his house they were treated with the greatest kindness, and with the most expressive tokens of real welcome: but what particularly warmed their hearts on this occasion, was the endearing behaviour of Raa Kook to his wife and children. These last he fondled on his knees, and caressed with all the genuine marks of parental affection. The night being now pretty far advanced, they retired to their house, where their friend the general spared no pains to render their accommodation comfortable. He procured plenty of mats for them to sleep on, kindled fires to defend them from the mosquitoes and damps, and ordered some of his own men to sleep at the other end, to protect them from any of the natives who might be led to disturb them from motives of curiosity. Next morning they were attended, as usual, by Raa Kook, and after walking about for some time, were ordered to attend the king to breakfast in the queen's house, where they had been the day before.

They were received with a peculiar etiquette, which was never afterwards practised. The house was all in one apartment; at the one end of which hung a screen of mats, which, when drawn up, discovered the king and queen seated. They breakfasted on yams and fish very agreeably. After breakfast, Mr. Sharp, the surgeon, accompanied by Mr. Devis, set out to visit a child of Arra Kook's which was sick. His house was about

three miles distant. This gave them an opportunity of examining the country, which they had not before done. This visit was very acceptable, and the rupack thought he could not sufficiently repay them. Mr. Sharp examined the child's body, which was almost covered with ulcers, but could not prescribe any thing, having no medicines. He approved of the mode of cure they had adopted, which was chiefly fomentation. Arra Kook then loaded several servants with provisions, &c. in baskets, to be sent to the boats, and assured them, when they left the island they should have his whole roost of tame pigeons. This, by the way, was the greatest compliment he could offer them, in his estimation; and sufficiently shews the uncommon gratitude with which his bosom was warmed.—Indeed, the readers will, on many occasions, have anticipated the remark, that the finer feelings and virtues which adorn humanity, shone in these natives in no common degree. They returned to Captain Wilson, at Pelew, the same evening.

The request which had been previously hinted by the king, was now formally made to Captain Wilson, by desire of a council of rupacks, that he would allow them ten men to accompany them to a second engagement at Artingall; which was most readily complied with. Captain Wilson mentioned at the same time, that it would be obliging were the men detained as short time as possible, not to hinder the progress of their schooner. To this Abba Thulle most engagingly replied, "That it was not his wish to detain them longer than was absolutely necessary, but after doing him so much service, he behoved to keep them a day or two to rejoice with him." The council had met in the forenoon on this business. Every rupack, or chief, was seated on a stone, that for the king being higher than the rest, and disputed from side to side as it happened, without any regular order of speakers. It appeared that every thing was decided by a majority,

so that their government bears no small affinity to our own.

The remainder of the time the English spent at Pelew was very agreeably employed. One day, when in company with a great number of the natives, Mr. Devis, who was an excellent draughtsman, took out his pencil, and was busily employed in taking the likeness of a woman who drew his attention. The lady observing him, and ignorant of his intention, retired in great confusion. A chief beside him, noticing the drawing, was greatly pleased, and shewed it to the king, who immediately ordered two women to come forward and stand in a proper position for Mr. Devis to take their likeness. Mr. Devis soon finished his sketches, and presented them to the king, who was highly entertained, and calling the women, shewed them their portraits, with which they were much pleased. Abba Thulle desired Mr. Devis to give him his pencil and paper, on which he scratched a few figures, very rudely, but sufficiently to shew his conception of what had been done. So that while he thus displayed his own inferiority to the artist, he, at the same time, gave evident proofs of the sense he had of it, and his wishes to possess this qualification which so pleased him.

Captain Wilson and his companions were carried to see their method of building canoes, and observed some canoes which were just returned from a skirmish, in which they had proved victorious. They had captured a canoe, which was considered as great a trophy as a first-rate man of war would be in Britain. On this occasion the English had an opportunity of observing their method of celebrating such exploits, or keeping a day of festivity. There was a great feast prepared for the warriors, previous to which they danced in the following manner: they ornamented themselves with plantain leaves, nicely paired into stripes like our ribbons, which, being of a yellowish colour, had a good effect on their dark skins; then forming themselves

into circles one within another, an elderly person began a song, or long sentence, and on his coming to the end of it, all the dancers joined in concert, dancing along at the same time; then a new sentence was pronounced and danced to, which continued till every one had sung, and his verse had been danced to.

Their manner of dancing does not consist so much of capering and leaping, or other feats of agility, as a certain method of reclining their bodies, and yet preserving their balance. During the dance, sweet drink was handed about, and when it was finished an elegant supper was brought in.

Mr. Sharp carried Captain Wilson, one afternoon, to see his favourite Arra Kook, who received them with great joy, and entertained them very kindly. They went through many plantations on their way, and were much surprised to find the country so highly cultivated. They observed a tree, named by the natives ri'a'mall, which the English supposed to be a species of the bread-fruit. After enjoying plentifully this good man's bounty, they returned to Pelew, highly delighted with their agreeable excursion. In the course of such observations as they had an opportunity of making, they found the employment of the men generally to be making darts, hewing trees, and building canoes; while the women looked after the yams, wrought the mats and baskets, nursed their children, and dressed the victuals.

On Thursday the 4th of September they left Pelew, loaded with presents, and amidst the loud acclamations of a vast number of the natives. They arrived safe at the cove about nine in the evening, and found all their companions well, and proceeding in their work with the utmost alacrity. The captain immediately informed them of the request the natives had made for ten men, and every one was again anxious to be of the party. At length they were determined upon, and ordered to be in readiness on a call from the king.

Soon after his majesty paid them another visit at Oroolong, and after inspecting the progress they made in their vessel, which delighted him greatly, he returned with the desired reinforcement of ten Englishmen.

As the king had some days before sent information to Artingall of his proposed attack, which is customary here, and at the same time terms of peace, he now ordered a canoe, with four men in it, to proceed to the island, and enquire whether they were to submit or to fight.

The messengers soon returned, informing him that they refused the terms offered them. Immediately Abba Thulle ordered the conch to be sounded, and waved his chinam stick in the air, the signal for forming the line of battle.

Meantime the enemy collected their canoes, but kept close by the shore, shewing an evident disinclination to come to battle.

Abba Thulle had dressed himself in the scarlet coat which Captain Wilson had given him, and kept one of the Englishmen in his canoe. The other nine were dispersed through the fleet in nine different canoes, armed with muskets, cutlasses, bayonets, and pistols.

Finding the enemy would not advance, and their present situation being very unfavourable for the attack, the king ordered a party of canoes to go round a neck of high land, and lie there concealed. He then ordered the remainder to exchange a few darts in their present position, and retreat with apparent precipitancy; by these means he expected to draw the enemy from their shores, and the concealed squadron could then get betwixt them and the land, and thus hem them in on all hands.

He dispatched his orders with great readiness, by means of some very swift-sailing canoes, which cut the water with astonishing velocity. His stratagem took effect as he wished. The enemy rushed out to pursue the apparent fugitives, and the canoes coming

round the high land, surrounded them on all sides. Those who fled, now turned about, and, by means of the firearms, threw the enemy into terror and confusion. The noise of the muskets, their friends dropping they knew not how, and the triumphant shout which the natives of Pelew set up, totally discomfited them. They retreated with precipitation, rushed through the canoes that were betwixt them and the land, as there were but few of them, and by that means all escaped but six canoes, and nine natives who were captured. The victory was, however, considered as very complete. It is very seldom that any canoes are taken, and two or three prisoners are generally the greatest number. The dead bodies are carefully carried off the field of battle, lest they should fall into the hands of the conquerors to expose them. It grieves us to be obliged to say, that the prisoners are constantly dispatched. This is the only trait of inhumanity that disgraces a people otherwise mild and gentle.

A little before this engagement, Mr. Sharp was requested by Raa Kook to go along with him to Pelew, to inspect his son's foot, which was very dangerously hurt by a spear, which having sunk deep into the flesh, was broke off in attempting to pull it out; and the barb of the spear, having got in among the small bones, they could not extract it. Meantime, his foot swelled amazingly, to the great distress of the young man. One of the natives, reputed among them as a man of skill, began to cut away the flesh. But, after mangling his foot in a terrible manner, he was obliged to desist, as the effusion of blood became so great that he could not continue the operation. They, therefore, had recourse to their fomentation, of which Mr. Sharp much approved, and desired it to be continued till he saw him, which he could not propose at that time, three of the ablest men being sick.

Mr. Sharp's account of his excursion to see him some time after is as follows:

Immediately on his landing, he went directly to his father's house, who met him with visible distress in his countenance.

Mr. Sharp acquainted him that he was come to see his son, and had brought such instruments with him as would enable him, he hoped, to administer relief. He smiled approbation, and conducted him to his house, where Abba Thulle and several of the principal people were assembled. After paying his respects to them, Mr. Sharp was informed, that during Raa Kook's stay at Oroolong, the swelling had subsided by means of the fomentation, and they had forced the spear through his foot as the only method of extracting it. At this time the whole of the army was setting out on a third expedition, which the young man hearing, could not bear the thoughts of being absent from. He therefore insisted upon being carried to his canoe, where, though he could not stand on his feet to fight, he could raise himself so much up as to throw a spear. He, therefore, went along, and very early in the engagement fell a sacrifice to his magnanimity; a spear entering through his throat, occasioned his immediate death. It is impossible to pass over in silence the unhappy fate of this gallant youth. A spirit more truly heroic, history has not left on record; nor need we hesitate to say, that there was more real valour displayed in this action, which accident only has brought on record, than in many feats which have attracted the admiration of ages. Success again crowned the natives of Pelew, by the assistance of the English, though the enemy behaved with great resolution.

Soon after, Raa Kook desired Mr. Sharp and the boatswain to accompany him to the water side, where two canoes were waiting, into which they went, accompanied by about twenty rupacks, whom they had not formerly seen, as they belonged to another island, though friendly to Abba Thulle. Mr. Sharp knew not whither they were going, but suffered himself to be conducted by his friend. They landed upon an

island about four miles distant from Pelew. They went a little way up into the island, to a small uninhabited village, where there were four or five houses, surrounded by a neat pavement.

After resting about an hour here, they set forward to a town about half a mile distant, where a great many people of both sexes were assembled, and an entertainment prepared. Immediately after this the women retired; and soon after their attention was drawn to the sound of distress and weeping at a little distance; the voices appeared to be principally those of women. Raa Kook immediately led Mr. Sharp from the company to the place whence the noise proceeded. They found a great multitude of women attending a dead corpse, which was neatly wrapped in a mat, and supported by four men. They kept up a constant lamentation, and were just about to lay it down, when the strangers joined them. The body was immediately deposited in the grave without any ceremony, while the men who had borne it on their shoulders proceeded to cover it quickly with the dust. The women then kneeled down, and their cries increased so much, that they appeared as if they were anxious to tear up the very body again which had been just buried.

A heavy shower of rain obliged Mr. Sharp to leave this interesting scene to seek shelter, but he never could learn the cause of Raa Kook's behaviour on this occasion; as, notwithstanding the uncommon regard he had for his late son, whose body they were convinced it was, he preserved the most profound silence on the subject; nor did he appear to be particularly interested. The most probable conjecture they could form was, that he considered it to be below that dignity of mind, which he on all occasions wished to support, to appear concerned on an occasion which generally produces those feelings that betray what they consider as human weakness.

The night proved very stormy, so they could not

return to Pelew, but spent the evening with Raa Kook. In the morning Raa Kook carried Mr. Sharp and the boatswain to a little hut contiguous to the place where his son had been buried. Here they found only an old woman, to whom the general spoke for some time. She then went out, but returned in a little, bringing with her two old cocoa-nuts, some red ochre, and a bundle of betel-nut with the leaves. He took the cocoa-nuts and crossed them with the ochre, placing them one on each side by him; after which he repeated something to himself, which they supposed to be a prayer. He then crossed the betel-nut in the same manner, and sat musing over it a little, when he gave them to the woman, who carried them out, as Mr. Sharp supposed, to the grave: he wished to follow her, but as Raa Kook appeared under great agitation, and not inclined to rise, he did not leave him, nor enquire farther.

Mr. Sharp entertained his friends with the inspection of his watch and surgical instruments, with which they were greatly pleased, as well as with the description he gave them of the mode of performing various operations.

Their countrymen they had left at Pelew were in great distress about his absence. They had been witnesses to the funeral of another young man, who had been slain in the late battle. As they were accidentally straggling through the fields, about two miles from Pelew, they observed a great number of the natives going towards a village, with Abba Thulle at their head. They came to a large pavement, where the king was seated, and a great crowd surrounded him. Those who bore the corpse moved slowly on before the king, who addressed them in a speech probably recapitulating the qualifications of the deceased.

This eulogium he delivered with great solemnity; and the respectful silence of all around him added a degree of affecting grandeur to the scene. The body was then carried to the grave, attended by women

only, and thither Mr. Matthias Wilson followed. He observed an aged woman getting out of the new-made grave, whom he supposed to be the mother or some near relation of the deceased, who had been examining if every thing was properly prepared to her mind.

The last offices they always commit to the women, as the men who are nearly interested, or relations, might be led to discover some exterior marks of grief, which they consider as derogatory to the dignity of manhood. Immediately on the body being laid in the grave, the women set up loud lamentations, as in the case of Raa Kook's son, and Mr. Wilson left them.

Their graves are made in the same manner as in Europe. Some have a flat stone laid horizontally on the grave, to prevent any person from trampling upon it. They have also particular spots of ground set apart for the purpose of burying their dead.

It exceeds our limits to relate all the various turns which took place during the contests between the natives of Pelew and those of Artingail. Suffice it to say, that Captain Wilson lent every aid to his friends, and obtained and deserved their esteem. Soon after his return to Oroolong, he found it necessary to use discipline. During his absence, the cook had misbehaved exceedingly, appropriating a great part of the small portion of meat they were allowed, to himself and his assistant.

As it was requisite, in their present situation, that the strictest discipline should be exercised, Captain Wilson, by a court martial, ordered him a cobbing.

The native tenderness of Raa Kook's disposition, who was present, appeared eminently on this occasion. When he saw the man stripped to the waist, and his hands tied against a tree to keep them extended, he entreated Captain Wilson to pardon him: this, however, could not be granted.

The punishment of cobbing is inflicted by a thin flat piece of wood, like a battledore; which Raa no sooner saw exercised, and the man bearing it patiently,

than he was reconciled, standing by and encouraging him all the time.

A Chinese was also punished in the same manner, for wounding one of his countrymen with a stone. But he set up such a hideous cry, that Raa Kook was greatly entertained with his cowardice, or rather despised him for his want of fortitude.

The schooner now was considerably advanced; and every circumstance conspired to brighten their prospects. On the 17th of October, Abba Thulle arrived with the agreeable news, that the chief minister of Artingall had been at Pelew with offers of peace, which had been concluded upon, to the great joy of Raa Kook and the other natives. Abba Thulle brought his youngest daughter with him, named Erre Bess, of whom he appeared to be exceedingly fond. He conducted her through all the cove, and explained the use of every thing with much attention. Besides her, he also brought with him on this visit, Ludee, one of his wives; a very beautiful woman, young, and greatly superior to any they had hitherto seen. Her genteel deportment and graceful step drew the attention of every beholder. She had with her eight or ten females, who were all escorted by Raa Kook, and shewn the forge, vessel, guns, tents, and other curiosities, with which they were greatly surprised. The king had also brought some of his artificers with him, or tackle-hys, as he called them, to observe the progress of the vessel, and the manner of working. He seemed peculiarly anxious that they should pay attention to the schooner, which all ranks agreed in considering as the *ne plus ultra* of human mechanism.

After their curiosity had been fully satisfied, the captain prepared an entertainment for them in the tent, consisting principally of fish, and boiled rice sweetened with molasses, of which they appeared very fond.

A good deal of conversation took place on this visit, between the king and Captain Wilson, on various sub-

jects. Abba Thulle acknowledged that the English muskets had now procured him peace with almost all his neighbours; he at the same time requested, that the captain would leave ten muskets with him when he left the island. This Captain Wilson told him would not be in his power, as Britain was at present engaged in war with several different nations, with whose vessels they might fall in on their return homeward, and so require defensive weapons; but he promised him five, which greatly pleased him.

Abba Thulle then enquired what quantity of powder they had; but observing that Captain Wilson was not disposed to answer him readily, he very politely changed the subject.

The captain then desired he would assure his neighbouring islanders, that the English, deeply sensible of the kind usage they had received from the inhabitants of Pelew, were determined to return very soon, in a much larger ship, and with a greater number of men, and fully avenge any insult that might be offered to the Pelewites, either by the people of Artingail, or any other island.

Agreeable to a former promise of Captain Wilson's, Abba Thulle then informed him he had come at this time to get the guns from the wreck, which should either be placed at Oroolong or Pelew, as the English pleased. Captain Wilson, having previously consulted his officers desired him to take them all to Pelew, except one, which they might perhaps need in the schooner. Accordingly, next day, the king ordered some of his people to go to the wreck in order to remove them. Having no tackle, they found it a very difficult job, and were forced to send for assistance from their friends. The Englishmen speedily lodged them in the canoes, to the surprise of the natives, who could not conceive it possible to handle these heavy pieces with such apparent ease.

The king lodged at the back of the island, carrying with him all his attendants, that the English might be

as little interrupted by them as possible. He had not been long there when he sent for Captain Wilson, to give him ten large fish, part of a quantity his people had taken. Of these he would only receive four, which would fully serve all his people for supper; and such is the nature of the climate, that no fish will keep fresh above five or six hours. The king then ordered the remaining six to be drest for keeping, and sent to the cove in the morning. Their method of cleaning and dressing them is as follows: the fish is first well cleaned and washed, and all the scales taken off; then two sticks are placed lengthways of the fish, in order to keep it straight, in the same manner as sticks are placed across salmon in this country when kippering. It is then bound round with broad plaintain leaves, and smoked over a slow fire. In this state it will be eatable for at least two days, though not very pleasant to those unaccustomed to such a mode of preserving.

In the morning, the ears of the English were saluted with the noise of singing in the woods, which proved to be Raa Kook and his attendants coming across the country, with the six dried fish. This morning the king went to the wreck, and returned to the cove, and breakfasted on tea with Captain Wilson, three Artingall people being also of the party. After breakfast, the strangers were led through the works, and their surprise was nothing inferior to any thing that had been expressed. The guns particularly interested them, as the means by which so many of their countrymen died, in a manner till then incomprehensible.

In a few days they had a farther opportunity of seeing the effects of the muskets, by Mr. Benger's killing some pigeons while on wing: they ran to the carcasses, and examined them very attentively, and, upon noticing the wounds, observed it was with such holes as these their countrymen died. On this occasion the Pelewites seemed to exult a little over their neighbours, on the ignorance which they shewed of the use of fire-arms. The people of Artingall, however, retained no

animosity on this account, but seemed quite happy and at ease. Thus these people, though fierce in battle, as soon as peace is concluded, wisely forget the past. Happy would it be for more polished nations to imitate them in this respect!

The vessel being now nearly completed, a consultation was held to fix on the safest method of launching her, which was agreed to be lay-ways. They had neither pitch nor rosin to pay her with. This want, necessity, the mother of invention, taught them to supply by burning coral stone into lime; then sifting it thoroughly, they mixed it up with grease, and found it an excellent succedaneum.

Some time before this, Madan Blanchard, one of the common sailors, who had accompanied the natives in their different expeditions, had expressed his desire to some of his comrades to be left behind. At first it was supposed that he was not in earnest; but when the captain was apprised of his real inclination, he endeavoured to dissuade him from such an unaccountable step. Finding, however, that no arguments could make any impression on his mind, or shake his resolution, he determined to make a merit of necessity; and, therefore, when Abba Thulle came down to Oroolong to attend the launching of the schooner, he signified to his majesty, that as a return for the hospitality with which the English had been treated, they would leave one of their comrades with him as a perpetual resident, who was fully qualified to manage the great guns and other things that were to be presented to him at their departure. The idea was by no means thrown away; the king was gratified beyond measure.

This night Blanchard spent with the king, and was well entertained. All the crew regretted much to part with Blanchard. His agreeable behaviour made him regretted by all his companions, who lost no opportunity to speak in his behalf to the natives. This resolution of his, however, was inexplicable; as it is difficult to conjecture what motives could urge him to forsake

that class of mankind among whom he had hitherto lived, and be separated from them perhaps for ever. As Abba Thulle, Raa Kook, and the natives in general, considered his remaining among them as a very great compliment, they were resolved to render him happy; and promised to make him a rupack, to give him two wives, together with a house and plantations.

Blanchard was about twenty years of age, of rather a grave turn, but possessing much native humour. What rendered his resolution the more extraordinary was, its being known that he had formed no particular attachment on the island; but man often displays singular freaks, and perhaps his real motives will ever be unknown. He certainly was courageous in an eminent degree, and no quality is more valued among the natives. Unfortunately he could neither read nor write; else, should succeeding navigators fall in with him, he might have been able to furnish memoirs which would have interested every admirer of simple nature; and every heart of sensibility will have an anxious desire to know the fate of a man who made himself a voluntary recluse from the rest of the world.

We come now to contemplate a scene peculiarly interesting. Next morning the English proceeded, before day-break, to make ready for the launch; it need scarcely be mentioned, that uncommon pains were taken to put every thing in the most favourable train for getting the vessel afloat. About seven, the king and attendants were desired to be present, and in a little time the schooner was safely launched, to the general joy of every spectator, and, by Abba Thulle's desire, was named the Oroolong. Never was there a more affectingly happy scene.—Every eye seemed to sparkle with a lustre borrowed for the occasion; every countenance looked animating joy and heartfelt satisfaction; but few among them could utter their feelings; looks of congratulation circulated around, while every one shook his neighbour's hand with the warmest fervour. Home, wives, parents, children, friends—all—all seem-

ed as within grasp.—But description is unequal to this task. Let not, however, the behaviour of their Pelew friends be forgotten. In their joy, which was also unbounded, real philanthropy was to be seen.—They saw, by this occurrence, those friends whom they valued, about to leave them; those friends by whom they had been so much benefited, and from whom they had learned so much.—But they saw them happy.—They knew their whole comfort depended upon the success of this event, and therefore their benevolent hearts participated in the general joy.

After a very happy breakfast indeed, they proceeded to carry every thing aboard with all possible expedition, and in the afternoon, the flood tide coming in, the ship was hauled into the bason, a deep place of four or five fathoms water; and, in the course of the day, they got on board all the provisions and stores, such only excepted as were to be given in presents to the king; and in the morning took on board their anchors, cables and other necessaries, making bits, and fitting a rail across the stern of the vessel.

The weather and wind appearing favourable, the captain informed Abba Thulle that they purposed sailing the next day. This very much distressed him; for he had sent word to the neighbouring rupacks, that the day following that now mentioned by the captain, was the day the English meant to sail. In consequence of which they were to come to Oroolong the next night, to furnish them with provisions, and bid them farewell. This information determined the captain still more to set sail in the afternoon, as the number of canoes to be expected would greatly incommode them. He therefore apologized in the best manner he could to the king, who appeared greatly disappointed. He then begged that the captain and officers would dine with him and his brothers on shore. With this they cheerfully complied, and after dinner, the king signified his intention of investing the captain with the order of the BONE, and making him a rupack

of the first rank. The captain expressed his acknowledgments for the intended honour, when the bone was drawn over his left hand, with great solemnity, by the chief minister and Raa Kook, on which the whole assembly testified their joy. The king, then addressing the captain, told him "that the bone should be rubbed bright every day, and preserved as a testimony of the rank he held among them; that this mark of dignity must, on every occasion, be valiantly defended, nor suffered to be torn from his arm but with the loss of life."

Our readers may perhaps smile at this simple badge of dignity; but, they should recollect, that the object and the end are every where the same; and that a star on the breast, or a bone on the arm, in themselves are equally insignificant. All public honours hold out a prize to merit, and in this light only should they be regarded.

As a farther proof of Abba Thulle's confidence, he proposed intrusting Captain Wilson with the care of his second son, Prince Lee Boo, whose affecting story will soon be recorded. The king's object in this was to improve the young man in the knowledge which he saw the English possess in an eminent degree, and to render him useful to his native country in future. Raa Kook also solicited permission to accompany them; but this request was refused by the king, from very prudential motives of policy.

Arra Kooker, who from the first seemed to have set his heart on the Newfoundland dog, so warmly importuned the captain for his favourite, that he could not resist his solicitation. But the general's intention was far otherwise employed. He was already building a ship in imagination; and, to realize his design, wished them to leave their launching ways, saying he would go to work on the same place.

The king had laughed at the insignificance of Arra Kooker's request of the dog; but the subject of ship-building caught his most serious attention. It was of

national importance, and of course demanded the patronage of a good prince.

In the midst of their discourse, a battle on board the ship between two sailors called for the presence of the captain. The damage proved no greater than a bloody nose, which being settled, Mr. Wilson again returned. When the circumstance was explained to the king, he observed that there were, no doubt, bad men in all countries.

Permission was asked, and obtained, to hoist an English pendant on a tree near the cove; with an inscription as follows, on copper, to be placed on another tree adjacent:

THE HONOURABLE
ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIP,
THE ANTELOPE,
HENRY WILSON, COMMANDER,
WAS LOST UPON THE REEF NORTH OF THIS ISLAND,
IN THE NIGHT
BETWEEN THE 9TH AND 10TH OF AUGUST;
WHO HERE BUILT A VESSEL,
AND SAILED FROM HENCE
THE 12TH OF NOVEMBER, 1783.

Captain Wilson explained the purport of this inscription to Abba Thulle, who was greatly pleased with it; and, having explained it to his people, he assured the English, that it should carefully stand there in remembrance of their visitors.

The conversation this day was principally confined to the approaching separation. "When you are gone," said the king, "I much dread that the Artingalls will redouble their attempts against me: and, deprived of your aid, I shall probably feel the effects of that animosity they have always had towards my people; and having no more the English to support me, I shall not be a match for them, unless you leave the few muskets you promised me.

The captain was quite satisfied to comply with the

request immediately; but most of the officers, who still had apprehensions, were unwilling to give up the arms till the last moment. That unlucky suspicion of being detained, which had so ungenerously taken possession of them, had been so rivetted in their minds that it was not easily dislodged. It is necessary, however, not to condemn our countrymen too hastily. They had been accustomed to see roguery so generally and so scientifically practised, that distrust and suspicion are naturally instilled among the first principles of education; and it was not easy for them to conceive, that the same species should be so very different, even at opposite quarters of the globe; but here they saw the open undisguised actions of nature, knowing no deceit, and dreading none.

Abba Thulle was too quick-sighted not to observe their distrust; and it is not easy to express the agitation which laboured in his breast, on finding that doubts were harboured of his sincerity. "Why," said he, "should you distrust me? I never refused you my confidence. If my intentions had been hostile, you would have known it long ago, being entirely in my power. But, on the contrary, you have had my utmost assistance; and yet, at the very last, you suspect me of bad designs!"

The earnestness of his manner spoke his feelings more than his words; nor need it be doubted, that a little recollection brought the blush into the countenances of those whom he addressed. The man who had uniformly behaved with such disinterested, unsuspecting benevolence—the man who freely committed his own son to their care, to be doubted within a few hours of their parting, was a stab which the sensibility of Abba Thulle could not support. The severity and truth of his reproach, and the noble dignity with which he supported himself, brought the daring thought, which some had entertained, of butchering him and his brothers, to view, and gave a most captivating picture

of the mild, yet forcible triumph of virtue. They found themselves guilty, and saw evidently, that virtue will flourish in whatever soil she is implanted. Without further hesitation, they sent on board for all the arms that could be spared; and on the boat's return, presented him with five muskets, five cutlasses, more than half a barrel of gunpowder, and flint and ball in proportion. Once more harmony was restored, and the generous Abba Thulle forgot, or seemed to forget, their suspicions.

The king's second son, Lee Boo, arrived in the evening from Pelew, under the care of his elder brother. Abba Thulle presented him to the captain, and then to the officers. He advanced in so easy and polite a manner, having much good humour and forcible expression in his aspect, that every one was prepossessed in his favour. As it was now growing dark, the officers went on board, leaving the captain behind, at the king's request. Next day Mr. Wilson informed them, that neither he, the king, nor the rupaeks, enjoyed much rest; the affectionate father employing the moments in giving advice to his son, and in recommending him to the care of the captain; not, however, from the smallest fear that he would be ill-treated: "I would wish you," said he, "to shew my son every thing that is useful, and make him an Englishman. The fine things he will see may probably induce him to slip away from you in search of less confined gratification; but I beg that you will contrive to calm and subdue the rashness and impetuosity of his youth. I well know, from the different countries he must pass through, that he will be liable to dangers, and even to diseases that we never heard of, which may kill him; but I also know that death is the common lot; and whether he dies with you, or at Pelew, is of no moment. I know you are a man of humanity; and am, therefore, confident, that if my son be sick, you will look on him with kindness. But should that happen, which your utmost care cannot

prevent, let it not deter you or your brother, or any of your countrymen from returning, for I shall rejoice at the sight."

The captain assured the king, that he might rest satisfied of the care and affection with which his son would be treated.—Before Mr. Wilson came on board, he admonished Blanchard, (the man who had resolved to renounce his country) as to his conduct among the natives. He desired him to be watchful of the arms and ammunition that would be left behind, that they might defend themselves from their enemies. He begged him not to go naked, like the natives, as it might lessen his importance with them as an Englishman, and countenance an evident indecency; and that he might have no excuse from the want of clothes, all that could be spared was left him; in order, that if he accepted the king's offer of wives, he might be enabled to dress them somewhat after his own custom. The captain did not forget to enforce on him the absolute necessity of continuing his religious duties, and to be particular in keeping Sunday. After this, he was requested to ask any favour that might tend to his future comfort; on which he begged to have one of the ship's compasses, and the masts, sails, and oars, belonging to the pin-nace, which also was intended to be left behind.

Wednesday morning early, an English jack was hoisted at the mast-head of the Oroolong, and a swivel fired as a signal for sailing; which being explained to the king, he ordered all the provisions on board, which he had brought for the voyage. A great number of canoes surrounded the vessel, loaded with presents, so that it was with difficulty they could avoid being over-stocked. When just ready for sea, a boat was sent on shore for the captain, who then took Blanchard and the men of the boat into a temporary hut that had been erected, and made them offered thanksgiving to that Power, who had supported their fainting spirits through so many hazards and toils, and at last opened to them the door of deliverance. He repeated his advice to

Blanchard, earnestly begging him not to forget his religion.

When Lee Boo came to the watering-place, there were sent with him three or four dozen of a very fine fruit similar to the English apple. It is of a fine crimson colour, and oblong shape. This is a very rare fruit at Pelew, though there is plenty of them in the different South Sea Islands. One of them was given to every officer, and the remainder kept for Lee Boo.

About eight o'clock the captain went on board, attended by Abba Thulle, Lee Boo, the rupacks, and Blanchard. It being doubtful, as the vessel was heavily laden with provision, whether she would be able to get over the reef, it was resolved to land the two six pounders, and leave the jolly-boat behind, as they had nothing wherewith to repair her, and she was almost worn out. In her room Abba Thulle was at great pains to procure them a proper canoe.

Captain Wilson had recommended Mr. Sharp, the surgeon, to Lee Boo, as his scualic, or friend, and the young man stuck by him with the greatest attention, attending him to whatever part of the vessel he moved, as his Mentor on all occasions. Blanchard now got into his pinnace, in order to take the vessel in tow, and parted from his old ship-mates with as much composure as if they were to meet again after a short absence. He shook hands with them with the same indifference, as if they were to sail down the Thames on a coasting voyage—a striking contrast to what followed!

The vessel now proceeded towards the reef, deeply laden with Abba Thulle's bounty, to a degree of superfluity, and surrounded by great numbers of the natives in their canoes, who had every man brought his present for their good friends the Englees—What a luxurious sight to a feeling heart!—There was no room for them, yet every one exclaimed, “only this from me, only this from me;” and, if refused, they repeated their requests with supplicating countenances and tears in their eyes. Indeed their generosity and affection were so urgent,

that a few trifles from the nearest of them were accepted; while the others, unable to bear the seeming neglect, paddled a head, and put their little presents into the pinnace.

Several canoes went before the vessel, to point out the safest track; and others were waiting at the reef, to shew them the deepest water: from all these precautions, which were directed by the king, the reef was fortunately cleared without any accident.

The king now came along-side, and gave Lee Boo his blessing, which the youth received with great respect and tenderness. He next embraced the captain, in much apparent distress, and then cordially shook hands with all the officers, crying—"You are happy because you are going home, and I am happy because you are so; but still very unhappy at your going away." Once more renewing his assurances of regard and good will, he left the vessel, and went into his canoe. The natives who were to return with the king, looked up to the vessel eagerly with the most expressive countenance, and half dissolved in tears. This proof of delicate sensibility, and of proved affection, operated so strongly on the feelings of all aboard, that it was with much difficulty they summoned resolution enough to give three cheers at their final departure. Raa Kook remained, with a few of his attendants, to see them out of danger beyond the reef; but was so highly dejected that the vessel had gone a great way before he thought of summoning his canoes to return. As he had been their first friend, the captain gave him a brace of pistols and a cartouch-box with cartridges; and the moment of separation being now come, he appeared so much affected, that it was some time before he could speak. Pointing to his heart, he said it was there he felt the pain of bidding them adieu. He endeavoured to converse with Lee Boo, his nephew; but being unable to proceed, he precipitately went into the boat, and giving them an expressive glance, as if his mind was convulsed, he instantly dropped astern; and thus terminated the

connection with the natives of Pelew, after a residence among them from Sunday the 10th of August, 1783, to Wednesday the 12th of November following.

It may not be unseasonable, while the amiable behaviour of those two respectable characters, Abba Thulle and Raa Kook, is fresh in the recollection of the reader, to make a few general observations on their different characters.

Never was a prince more formed to attract and retain the love and admiration of his subjects than Abba Thulle: his appearance was majestic; he commanded with authority; while his affability and easy access rendered him almost an object of adoration to all his subjects. In his councils, there was as much respect paid to his naked unadorned person, as to an European potentate, amidst all his trappings and pageantry, from the surrounding sycophants. His nice honour and quick feeling were very discernible on many occasions; never was there a reproof more delicate, and yet more poignant, than what he gave the English on occasion of the late affair with the muskets. He was far from one of those harmless nothings, who hurt nobody because they have not a sense of injuries: while the warmth and sensibility of his heart won the love of all around him, his dignity of manner, and propriety of conduct, taught them to approach him with respect. He possessed a contemplating mind, and few objects came within his observation, without being attentively considered. The prosperity of his subjects was the principal object with him. It was this that led him to part with his son Lee Boo, whom he tenderly loved—for this he was at so much pains in examining every thing about the English that might be serviceable to his people—in fine, his whole attention was engaged in forming and executing plans for the good of the nation and individuals. In domestic life he shone remarkably, and took a particular charge of all his own relations; the misbehaviour of his nephew, in an affair of some importance, seemed to give him the greatest pain; while, as the husband and

parent, his heart seemed awake to every finer feeling which adorns humanity.

Accident has only made him acquainted with a few of the rest of mankind; and that accident he considered as the happiest of his life: we may perhaps never hear of him again; but, judging from what is already known, he may justly be considered as one of the best of men and of kings.

His brother Raa Kook was a prince of so universally engaging demeanour, and whose every action expressed something so truly valuable, that Englishmen or natives equally admired him. He was so much a friend to the English, that it may be suspected their account of him is partial; therefore little shall here be said, and that little not exaggerated.

His natural temper was cheerful and pleasant, though without that mimicry and humour for which his brother Arra Kooker was remarkable; at the same time he was far from averse to a good hearty laugh when a proper occasion offered. As commander-in-chief, he was beloved by them all: he dispensed his orders calmly and smoothly, but would not tolerate neglect. No man better understood the necessity of strict discipline; so that while he encouraged his inferiors to use all becoming freedom with him, he kept them at that proper distance, which is the true key to cheerful obedience. In principles of honour, he was by no means inferior to his brother; and not only wished that the English should hold him in an honourable point of view, but all the nation; thus it was, that he could not bear the least idea of pilfering among them; and if any thing was missing, Raa Kook soon discovered and punished the delinquent. One day, a chief rupack sought a cutlass from Captain Wilson in his hearing; the frown instantly appeared, nor would he suffer it to be given him. He was exceedingly delicate in receiving favours himself; and though, from his particular disposition in enquiring after causes and effects, many things about the English were highly prized by

him, he was particularly attentive, that nothing should betray any desire for what he thought might not be proper to be given.

His deportment in his family was remarkably pleasant, even to a degree which many in this age of dissipation and stoicism might reckon silly; but let it be noticed, that though the finer feelings shone in the natives of Pelew to a length many in Britain would call effeminate—yet in fatigue, pain, distress, and death, they appeared as heroes indeed.

Before we proceed to mention the future fortunes of our navigators, the following observations on the manners and customs of those amiable people, may not prove unacceptable.

As the *Antelope* was not a vessel fitted out for discovery, and furnished with scientific gentlemen qualified for making many philosophic observations, the naturalist, or philosopher, must wait the issue of more particular discoveries and enquiries. Men distressed with the dread of perpetual exile, and whose attention was almost wholly occupied about their deliverance, were not the persons for tracing nature accurately in her various appearances and effects.

The Pelew Islands, or, as some call them, the Palos Islands, are situated between 130 and 136 deg. of east longitude from London, and between 5 and 9 deg. north latitude. They are long but narrow, and of a moderate height, encircled on the north by a reef of coral, of which no termination could be seen.

They are plentifully covered with wood of various kinds; such as the cabbage tree, ebony, and a species of the manchineel, the sap of which, when it touches the skin, occasions an immediate swelling and blistering. This tree they consider as unlucky.

But their three most remarkable trees, Europeans are utter strangers to. One is a very handsome tree, and upon boring a hole in it, a thick substance like cream distils from it. Another is very like a cherry tree in its manner of branching. It has a very thin cover, which

is not properly a bark, being as close in the texture as the inner wood, which is very hard. None of the English tools could stand to work it. In colour it is very like, though still prettier than mahogany. The last is like an almond tree; the natives call it carambolla. Betel-nuts, yams, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit, are their staple articles of livelihood, about which they are principally concerned; and a few oranges and lemons, and the jumboo apple, are their delicacies. They have no grain. The islands are in general well cultivated, as the natives spare no pains. All their labour consists in fishing and the cultivation of their grounds. Every man had his own piece of ground so long as he inclined to dwell there; but if he left it for another, it returned to the king, as chief proprietor, who bestowed it on the next that applied for it. One thing was very discernible, that every man had his own canoe, which he kept sacred.

It has already been mentioned, that there are no quadrupeds on the island, except rats. Birds of different kinds were observed flying about, some of them very beautiful, but the greater part of them are those which are known by the name of tropic birds. Whether from their peculiar kinds, or the echoing in the wood, is not easily determined, but the English were ready to think their notes had a very peculiar melody. One, in particular, was uncommonly sweet; but though the sound appeared quite at hand, none of these songsters could be seen.

But we must not omit to mention, that the English have probably taught them a lesson which may be of great service to them. The islands abounded with common cocks and hens, which the natives considered as a very useless animal, and therefore took no pains about them, but left them to wander wild through the woods. At times they would have eaten their eggs, provided they were, in their taste, that is, not fresh or lately laid; but if containing an imperfect chicken, they were delicious. They were now, however, taught to eat the flesh of

fowls, which they soon found to be a very palatable food.

Few parts of the globe are so well supplied with fish of all kinds, particularly mullets, crabs, oysters, muscles, &c. but the fish most esteemed among them is the shark, the greater part of which they reckon delicious. Several kinds of shell fish they eat quite raw, in preference to dressed. They have few fresh-water fish, as there are no rivers on the islands, only a few pools and small springs. They have no salt, and have little conception of sauce or seasoning to any thing they eat. Sometimes they boil both fish and vegetables in salt water, but this was no improvement; but when they eat any thing raw, they squeeze a little orange or lemon juice upon it.

They rise early in the morning, and their first work is to bathe. There are particular places appointed for this; and a man dares not approach the women's bathing places, without previously giving a particular halloo, of which, if no notice is taken, he may proceed; but if they halloo in return, he must immediately retire. They breakfast about eight, and proceed to public business or any other employment till noon, when they dine: they sup about sun-set, and very soon after retire to rest.

The reader will have observed frequent mention is made of sweatmeats in this narrative, a more particular account of which may be proper. They had various sorts. One was prepared by scraping the kernel of a cocoa-nut into a pulp, and then mixing it up with orange juice and sweet drink. This sweet drink is a composition of the juice of sweet canes, which the island produces plentifully. This mixture they generally simmered over a slow fire, which when warm they made up into lumps. It soon turned so hard that a knife could scarce cut it. This the English called choak-dog, but the natives called it woolell. Another sort is made up of the fruit of the tree just mentioned, like the almond tree; and on one occasion they presented

Captain Wilson with some liquid sweetneats, which they prepare from a root somewhat similar to our turnips.

The natives are in general stout, well made, and athletic. Many of them appeared to be uncommonly strong. They are in general about the middle size, and universally of one tinge as to colour, not wholly black, but of a very deep copper colour. The men have their left ear bored, and the women both. They wore a particular leaf, and at times an ornament of shell in the perforated ear. Their noses are also ornamented, by a flower or sweet shrub, stuck through the cartilage between the nostrils. This custom is not peculiar to Pelew, but is found in many eastern nations, and probably proceeds from their great desire for sweet scents; and though at first it appeared rather disagreeable, from want of use, it is certainly a more pleasant and becoming refreshment to the nose, than the use of tobacco, either in substance or in snuff.

Their teeth are dyed black; but the English could never learn the method by which it was done, nor farther, than that it was accomplished by means of some herbs when young, and the operation was very painful. The tatooing the body is also done in youth, though not altogether in childhood.

The only appearance of any thing like dress among these natives is in the female sex, who in general wear a piece of mat, or the husks of cocoa-nuts dried, about nine or ten inches deep, round their waist. Some of these aprons are very neatly made, and ornamented with a kind of beads. Abba Thulle's daughter, Erre Bess, gave Henry Wilson a present of a very neat one to carry to his little sister.

From the most attentive observations and enquiries the English could make, they were able to collect, that the inhabitants of Pelew believed in one Supreme Being, and a future state of rewards and punishments, but had few religious rites or ceremonies.

It was very clear that they had some strong fixed

ideas of divination. When Lee Boo set out to sea, he was, for several days, uncommonly sick; and he then told Mr. Sharp, he was sure his father and friends were very sorry for him, for they knew what he underwent. He was also prepossessed with the same notion when near his dissolution.

That they understood the spirit existed after death, Lee Boo declared, while he was in Britain. For when Captain Wilson informed him, that the intention of going to church was to reform men's lives, and that they might go to heaven; he replied, that, at Pelew, bad men stay on earth, and good men grow very beautiful, and ascend into the sky.

One particular mode of divination was observed, and considered to be peculiar to the king, as none but he used it. They have a plant, not unlike a bulrush, by splitting the leaves of which, and applying them to the middle finger, he judged of the success of any occurrence of moment. Before the first expedition to Artin-gall, it was noticed that the answer was very favourable; but, when about to sail on the second, the oracle did not appear altogether so agreeable. Abba Thulle, therefore, would not suffer them to enter their canoes, until he had twisted his leaves in such a manner as he thought they appeared more favourable.

The general character of these natives of Pelew is now pretty well imprinted on the reader's mind, a very few additional observations will suffice. Humanity is the prominent feature in the picture. The English were cast upon their territories, in a state the most helpless that can well be conceived; twenty-seven men, without even common necessaries of life, entirely dependent on their bounty; fed, supported, assisted in their labours, and every thing done for them that was in their power. Let us only for a moment consider the hourly bounty which was poured in upon them, not of the useless provender, but, as the English had many occasions to observe, their best provisions were given to their strangers, while many, perhaps, were scanty enough at home. Only recollect the parting scene. See the crowding

canoes holding out presents, not the distant effects of complaisance, but the warm effusions of philanthropy.— Could ostentation, pride, or the hope of retribution influence them? By no means. It was kindness to men they never expected to see again.

Their native politeness was constantly observable: possessing a degree of curiosity beyond any of the South Sea natives, they never, knowingly, intruded when it was inconvenient. In them it was evident that good manners are the natural result of good sense.

The attention paid by the men of Pelew to their wives, is very uncommon in most parts of the world; and gives a very amiable idea of their domestic lives.

Their marriages seemed to consist in a serious, solemn contract, without any formal ceremony; but they are strictly faithful to one another, and the utmost decency of behaviour is uniformly supported. A plurality of wives is allowed, though they generally confine themselves to two, a rupack three, and the king five. They name the children soon after they are born, without any ceremony. One of Abba Thulle's wives bore him a son while the English were there, which he named Captain, in honour of Captain Wilson. They are far from being naturally lascivious, and the utmost decency is preserved among them. One of the English, endeavouring to shew a marked attention to a female, was rebuffed in a manner that prevented any farther attempts.

They are, in general, an active, laborious set of people, possessing the greatest resolution in cases of danger, patience under misfortunes, and resignation at their death.

Except a few rupacks, there was little subordination of rank; consequently their employments were pretty much the same. Fencing their plantations, planting their yams, making hatchets, building houses and canoes, mending and preparing fishing tackle, forming darts and warlike weapons, with domestic utensils, and burning chinam, may be said to comprise the whole routine of their avocations,

Those who had a particular turn for mechanical operations, or any uncommon pieces of work, they call tacklebys; it was to them the king often gave particular orders to observe the building of the schooner. Idleness was tolerated in none; the women were as laborious as the men, and the king and rupacks were as much employed as any. Abba Thulle was the best maker of hatchets in the island; and generally laboured at them when disengaged from affairs of state. They had no idea of unemployed time, and therefore it is, that without the proper tools for finishing a fine piece of work, practice had taught them, even with their coarse implements, to execute what a British artist could not have conceived practicable. Their mats, baskets, and ornaments, are so curiously wrought, that, when their simple tools are considered, the ingenuity is more to be admired than much superior productions, executed under the advantages which European mechanics enjoy.

That equality of station which appeared evidently among them, and ignorance of those luxuries which civilization introduces, proved no inconsiderable sources of their happiness. The one prevented that ambition which is often so destructive to society, and the other those cares which affluence awakens. In all the connection which the English had with them, robbery or rapine was never named among them. Nature, it is true, allowed them little, but that little they enjoyed with content. Human nature here shone in most amiable colours. Men appeared as brethren. Uniformed, and unenlightened, they grasped at nothing more than competency and health. Linked together as in one common cause, they mutually supported each other. Courteous, affable, gentle, and humane, their little state was cemented in bonds of harmony.

Abba Thulle, the king, was the chief person in the state, and all the homage of royalty was accordingly paid to his person. He was supreme in the greater part of the islands which came within the observation of the English; but Artingall, Pelelew, Emungs, and

Emellegree, appeared to be independent; though, from any thing that could be observed or heard, their form of government was similar.

The general mode of making obeisance to the king, was by putting their hands behind them and bowing towards the ground; and this custom prevailed, not only when passing him in the streets and fields, but when they passed the house in which they supposed him to be. His carriage and demeanour was stately and dignified, and he supported his station very becomingly. He devoted the forenoon to public business, and decided every matter of state by a council of rupacks. They assembled in a square pavement in the open air; the king being placed in the centre, on a stone of larger size than those of the rupacks. They seemed to deliver their minds with freedom, as matters occurred; and the assembly was dissolved by the king rising up.

The afternoon was devoted to receiving petitions, hearing requests, and deciding controversies. These, it may easily be supposed, seldom occurred; for as their property was small and of little value, and as there were no lawyers nor their emissaries to foment disputes, the proper barriers of right and wrong were easily defined. Wrangles and fighting seldom happened, for even a dispute between children was checked by a severe frown, and their impetuosity bridled. When any real injury was done by any one to his neighbour, it was a pleasing sight to see how justice was administered. Their laws were the simple dictates of conscience, as to right and wrong, between man and man. No artful eloquence, or enticing words of wisdom, were employed to mask vice under the cloak of virtue. None of these subterfuges could be employed, whereby fraud and oppression could be screened. Oaths were unknown, and the simple dictates of truth directed the judge; nor were there any punishments of a corporal kind. To be convicted of injuring a neighbour, was to them more galling and disgraceful than any pillory yet invented by British ingenuity.

Messages were transmitted to the king with great ce-

remony. The messenger never was admitted into the presence, but delivered it to an inferior rupack, who reported the message to the king, and brought his answer.

The general was next in authority to the king, and acted for him in his absence. He summoned the rupacks to attend when needed, and had the chief command of all the forces; though it was observed, that in actual engagement, when the king was present, he himself took the lead.

The general was to succeed the king in case of his death; and on his demise, Arra Kooker; when the sovereignty would again revert to Abba Thulle's eldest son, then to Lee Boo, and so on. The king had always an attendant, who, though not so high in office as the general, was more constantly about his person. He was considered as the principal minister, and a man of judgment. He never bore arms, nor went on the warlike expeditions. It was remarked, that he had only one wife, and never invited any of the English to his house.

The rupacks were very numerous, and considered in the same light as the nobility are in Britain. They were of different orders. They all attended the king on command, every one bringing with him a certain number of dependants, with their canoes, spears, and darts.

The reader will be apt to trace a similitude to the feudal system; but as the knowledge the English acquired of these matters was very superficial, nothing very conclusive can be ascertained. These, and many other matters, must be left for time to develope. All that can be said farther at present is, that, whatever was their precise mode of government, it was wonderfully adapted for the people.

All the islands appeared populous, but the number is not easily conjectured. There were four thousand active men in the expedition against their enemies; and it was evident many more were left at home, whose service was not required.

The method they took for building houses was very ingenious. They raised them three feet from the ground, in order to prevent damp. This space they filled up with solid stone, and overlaid it with thick planks as a floor. The walls were built of wood, very closely interwoven with bamboos and palm leaves, so that no cold or wet could possibly come through. The roof was pointed in the same manner as village-houses are in this country. Their windows came down on a level with the floor, answering also the purpose of doors; and have a sort of shutters, which are occasionally used. Their fires are kindled in the centre of the room, for all the house is in one room, the fire place being sunk lower than the floor.

Their canoes are admirable workmanship. They are made of the trunks of large trees, in the same manner as those throughout the South Seas, but with surprising neatness. They ornament them with shells, and paint them red. They are of different sizes, but the largest will not carry more than thirty people. The natives row with great ability, insomuch that the canoes made on purpose for swift sailing, seem scarcely to touch the water, moving with a velocity almost inconceivable.

Their domestic implements are few in number, and very simple. They are the evident productions of necessity, well calculated to answer the ends intended, without much ornament.

Their knives are made of shells, which they sharpen to such an edge as fully answers all common purposes. Their drinking cups are made of cocoa-shells, which they polish with great art.

Their articles for ornament were far from being numerous. The king had a very fine tureen, somewhat in shape of a bird, and finely ornamented with various devices, very neatly cut out upon it. This he made a present of to Captain Wilson. It held about thirty-six English quarts.

The tortoiseshell they wrought into various little dishes, spoons, trays, and other vessels. The shell they

have in these islands is of a very beautiful kind, but their manner of working it the English could never get an opportunity of observing.

The English were now once more on the way to China; and, having wiped away the tear of a friendly farewell, proceeded on their voyage with the cheerful hope of being restored to all they held dear.

The principal person that will figure in the few remaining pages of this narrative, is Prince Lee Boo, a youth of the most promising qualities, and in whose history every reader must feel interested.

He had thrown himself freely into the protection of strangers, deserting his native country, his friends, his all; trusting to the honour of a handful of men, concerning whose existence he had, but a few weeks before, been utterly ignorant.

Captain Wilson instructed him as to decency in his appearance, and desired he would dress as they did. He did so; but soon threw off the coat and jacket, as insupportably cumbersome. He still, however, retained the trowsers, as decency required, and would never afterwards part with them. As they began to advance into a colder climate, he soon resumed the coat and jacket.

His notions of delicacy, from what had been told him, and from what he observed among the English, gradually increased, so that he would not so much as change any part of his dress, unless when by himself. He washed himself several times a-day, and kept his clothes and every thing about his person very clean.

Not far from the Island of Formosa they fell in with several Chinese fishing vessels and small craft, and soon after anchored near the high land called the Ass's Ears. Having engaged a pilot to conduct them to Macao, they arrived there next day.

The Portuguese Governor paid Captain Wilson and his crew all manner of attention, and sent plenty of provisions, of all kinds to the men on board the ship; informing them at the same time, that peace was now re-established in Europe.

Captain Wilson, Lee Boo, and the officers, had lodgings appointed them on shore, except Mr. Benger, who took the command on board. An express was immediately forwarded to the company's supercargoes at Canton, informing them of their arrival and situation.

Mr. M'Intyre, an old acquaintance of Captain Wilson's, paid them uncommon attention, and insisted on their lodging in his house. He had a Portuguese gentleman in company with him, who invited them to his house, in the way to Mr. M'Intyre's, principally on Lee Boo's account, with whom he was greatly taken, and wished to introduce him into his family. His house was therefore the first into which Lee Boo entered, and his surprise on this occasion cannot be easily imagined. The rooms, the furniture, and ornaments, all severally crowded so many new objects on his mind at once, that he was perfectly lost in amazement. It was remarkable, however, that, amidst all his confusion, his behaviour was to the greatest degree easy and polite; and as he observed that he excited the same curiosity in others that they did in him, he very politely permitted them to examine his hands, described the tatooing, and appeared pleased with the attention paid him.

On their way to Mr. M'Intyre's, Lee Boo displayed his native benevolence very remarkably. Observing the poor Tartar women, with their children tied to their backs, begging, he distributed among them all the oranges and other things he had about him.

When they reached Mr. M'Intyre's it was late, so that the table was covered for supper, and the room elegantly illuminated. A new scene here burst upon him—the whole seemed to him a scene of magic. It is impossible to particularize every thing with which he was remarkably fascinated. A large mirror at the upper end of the room rivetted his attention for a while. He saw his complete person, and supposed it to be somebody behind, very like himself. He looked, laughed, and looked again, not knowing what to think. Indeed the mirror had a surprising effect on more than Lee Boo. The Englishmen had seen every one his

neighbour's face, during all their distress, but nobody had seen his own. The hollow-eyed, long-visaged appearance they now made, to what they formerly recollected, cast rather a melancholy impression upon their minds.

Next day Lee Boo spent mostly in examining Mr. M'Intyre's house, in which he found abundance of new objects to surprise him. The other gentlemen in the mean time went about purchasing such little commodities as they stood in need of, and every one brought in some little trinket with him for Lee Boo. Among the rest was a string of large glass beads, which almost distracted the poor prince with surprise and joy. He conceived himself possessed of greater treasures than all the Pelew Islands could afford: he ran to Captain Wilson, enraptured with his property, and begged that a small Chinese vessel might be hired to transport them to Pelew, and desired his father might be informed the Englees had carried him to a fine country, from whence he would soon send him some other presents; at the same adding, that if the persons Captain Wilson should employ faithfully and expeditiously executed their trust; he would reward them with two glass beads. Happy state of innocence, where the utmost ambition can be so easily satisfied! But this pleasing delusion can only exist with an ignorance of luxury.

While at Macao, Lee Boo had frequent opportunities of seeing people of different nations, but soon gave a decided preference to the English, especially the ladies. It has been already mentioned that there are no quadrupeds at the Pelew Islands, and that the Newfoundland dog left there was the first of the species they had seen. They called him Sailor, which name Lee Boo now applied to every quadruped he saw. Horses were his great favourites, he called them clow sailor, or great sailor. He would often go to the stable and stroke their mane and neck, and soon ventured to mount them. He entreated Captain Wilson to send a horse to his uncle Raa Kook.

In a few days Captain Wilson received letters from

Canton; the supercargoes desiring him to draw for what money he needed, and ordering the men to be supplied with every necessary in abundance. The kindness shewn them on this occasion by all ranks, at Macao and Canton, all the officers and men speak of in the warmest terms. Captain Wilson and his company embarked for Whampoa in the *Walpole*, Captain Churchill, leaving Mr. Benger to take care of the *Oroolong*, and dispose of her.

In a few days they arrived at Canton, having been entertained all the way by Lee Boo, whose admiration at every new object, and sensible remarks at the same time, astonished all who had an opportunity of conversing with him. He was greatly surprised at the various dishes of meat which he saw successively set before them, alleging, that his father, though a king, was happy to serve himself with a few yams and cocoa-nuts; while here the gentlemen had a great many different dainties, and servants attending them while they were eating. Observing a sailor drunk, he said he would not drink spirits, as they were not fit for a gentleman.

An instance of Lee Boo's strong attachment to those he knew, may be here mentioned, which will serve to point out this striking feature, not in his character only, but in all the natives of Pelew. One day, while sitting at a window which looked towards the sea, he observed a boat making towards shore, in which were Mr. Benger and Mr. M'Intyre. His joy was so great, that he did not take time to tell Captain Wilson or any other in the room the cause of his emotion, but springing from his seat, flew to the shore in a twinkling. Immediately on their landing, he shook hands with them so heartily, and with such expressions of affection, as sensibly affected them. They had disposed of the schooner for seven hundred Spanish dollars, which was considered as very good price.

Lee Boo became an universal favourite wherever he appeared. His agreeable, good-natured, pleasant behaviour, made him acceptable in every company.

He one day very much surprised a company of gentlemen with his dexterity in throwing the dart. A party was formed to have a trial of skill in the factory hall. They hung up a gauze cage, and a bird painted in the middle. They stood at a good distance, and with much difficulty hit even the cage. When Lee Boo's turn came, he took up his spear very carelessly, and with the greatest ease struck the little bird through the head. He had one day an opportunity of seeing some blue glass, which greatly delighted him. It was a colour he had not before seen. The gentleman, in whose house it was, made him a present of two jars of the same colour, which greatly delighted him. "Oh! were it possible," he exclaimed, "that my friends at Pelew could see them!"

As the time was now near at hand when the company's ships would sail for England, Captain Wilson laid before his people an account of the produce from the Oroolong, and other articles which had been sold; and giving to every one an equitable share, he addressed the whole company nearly as follows: "Gentlemen, the moment being now arrived, when every one may to advantage follow his own inclination, I cannot part with you without testifying my approbation of the spirited, the judicious, and the manly conduct, you have preserved, amidst our trying difficulties; and be assured, that, on my arrival in England, I will represent you to the company as entitled to their particular regard; and I make no doubt but they will reward you toils."

If mutual adversity will reconcile the most inveterate enemies, surely the sufferings of friends must rive a more forcible affection; and every one now appeared to feel the weight of the remark, for a tender concern was manifest in every countenance. The conduct of Mr. Wilson had been so mild and prudent, and his example so animating, they still wished him for their commander. But it was not now a time for choice. Necessity and reason pointed out their course. Le

Boo and the captain came home in the *Morse*, and the surgeon in the *Lascelles*; while others embarked in different ships.

What has already been mentioned concerning the amiable Lee Boo, has no doubt interested every reader in his history; we shall therefore pursue it to its unfortunate close.

The *Morse* was commanded by Captain Elliot, with whom Lee Boo made himself very happy. His spirit of enquiry concerning various objects which he saw, began now to be directed more to their utility than formerly; and he shewed no small anxiety to pick up as much knowledge as possible, with regard to such articles as would be useful at Pelew. His method of keeping his journal was singular. He had a string, on which he cast a knot for every remarkable object he wished to imprint on his memory. These knots he examined daily, and, by recollecting the circumstances which occasioned their being cast, he fixed the transactions on his memory. The officers of the *Morse* humorously remarked, when they saw him referring to his hempen tablet, that he was reading his journal.

He was not forgetful of the crew of the *Oroolong*, about whom he made frequent enquiries. Early in the voyage, he asked for a book, that with assistance he might learn the English alphabet, which was given him. At St. Helena, he was surprised at the sight of the soldiers, and the cannon on the fortifications; and four men of war arriving during his stay there, afforded new matter of astonishment.

On being taken to see a school, he appeared so conscious of his own deficiency, that he begged he might learn like the boys. While here, he had also opportunities of riding on horseback, of which he was very fond. He galloped with great ease, and sat his horse very gracefully.

Before the *Morse* sailed from St. Helena, the *Lascelles* arrived there, so that he had an interview with his first friend, Mr. Sharp. He was exceedingly

happy with that gentleman, for whom he had the greatest regard.

When the Morse approached the British Channel, the number of ships that passed confounded his journal, and he was obliged to discontinue his memorandums. But, on landing at Portsmouth, the objects which met his view were so stupendous and grand, that he was involved in silent astonishment, and ceased to ask questions.

The captain proceeded to London, impatient to see his family, and left Lee Boo under the protection of his brother; who, however, soon after set off in a stage-coach, with his charge. Describing his journey, he said he had been put into a little house, which horses ran away with, and that though he went to sleep he did not stop travelling.

On his arrival in London, he was not a little happy to meet his mentor, his new father, whom he was afraid he had lost. Being shewn his chamber, he could not conceive the use of the bed, it being a four-post one, and of course different from what he had seen on board. Before he would repose himself, he jumped in and out of it several times, to admire its form, and intimated that here there was a house for every thing. It was all fine country, fine streets, fine coach, and house upon house up to the sky; for the huts at Pelew being only one story, he considered every floor here as a distinct house.

Captain Wilson introduced Lee Boo to some of the East India Directors, and to most of his friends, and at the same time shewed him the most conspicuous public buildings; but his prudent conductor kept him from the stage and other exhibitions, lest the heat of the place might communicate the small-pox; but the sequel will shew that all his caution was vain.

He was sent to an academy at Rotherhithe, where he was very assiduous in learning to read and write; and he soon became the favourite of all his school-fellows, from his gentleness and affability. During the hours of recess, he amused his benefactor's family, by mimic-

ing such peculiarities as he observed in the boys at school. He said that when he returned to Pelew, he would keep an academy himself; and he imagined the great men of his country would think him very wise when he shewed them their letters.

He always called his patron captain, but he would address Mrs. Wilson no otherwise than his mother, although he was told to the contrary, conceiving it a tender expression.

When he saw the young ask charity, he was highly offended, saying they ought to work; but the supplication of the old and infirm met his natural benevolence—"Must give poor old man; old man no able to work."

About this time he appeared to be about twenty years of age, and of a middle size. His expressive countenance, great sensibility, and good humour, instantly prejudiced every one in his favour. His eyes were so strikingly expressive, that, though he knew very little English, his meaning was easily understood.

His quickness of manner and readiness of apprehension were astonishing. A young lady, with whom he was one day in company, sat down to the harpsichord, in order to discover how it affected him. To the music he paid little attention, but he was greatly interested to discover how the sounds were produced. He at the same time sung a song in the Pelew style, but it was very harsh.

He was naturally polite. One day, at dinner, Mrs. Wilson desired him to help her to some cherries, when Lee Boo very quickly proceeded to take them up with his fingers. She pleasantly hinted his error, when he immediately took up a spoon, his countenance at the same time being suffused with a blush.

Captain Wilson, one day, happening to rebuke his son for some trifling neglect, in the presence of Lee Boo, the generous youth was not happy till he had joined their hands, which he did with the tears of sensibility streaming from his eyes.

He preferred riding in a coach to every other convey-

ance, as it allowed people, he said, an opportunity of talking together.

He was fond of going to church, because he knew it was a religious duty, the object and final end being the same both at Pelew and in England.

He was present at Lunardi's aerial ascension; and remarked, that it was a ridiculous mode of travelling, as it could be done so much easier in a coach.

He narrowly observed all plants and fruit trees, and said he should take some seeds of each to Pelew. Indeed, in all his pursuits, he never lost sight of what service they might be in his own country.

Being shewn a miniature of Mr. Keate, to whom he was introduced, he immediately recognised the face; and as a proof that he understood the intention of the mimetic arts, he observed, "that when Misser Keate die, this Misser Keate live." The utility of portrait painting could not be better defined. His own likeness was taken by a daughter of that gentleman.

In the midst of Lee Boo's innocent researches, he was taken ill of the dreaded small-pox. Dr. Carmichael Smith immediately attended him, who, in the first stage of the disorder, predicted the fatal consequences which ensued. He cheerfully took the medicines that were administered, and willingly dispensed with the sight of Captain Wilson, when he was told that he never had the disorder, and that it was infectious. In the midst of his illness, hearing that Mrs. Wilson was confined to her chamber, he cried—"What, mother bad!—Lee Boo get up to see her:" which he actually did. Mr. Sharp, the surgeon of the Antelope, also attended him.

Viewing himself in a glass just before his death, he turned his head away in disgust at the appearance of his face, which was much swelled and disfigured. Getting worse, and sensible of his approaching fate, he fixed his eyes attentively on Mr. Sharp, and said—"Good friend, when you go to my country, tell my father, that Lee Boo take much drink to make the small-pox go away, but he die—that captain and mother very kind—that English very good men—was much sorry he could not

tell Abba Thulle the great many fine things the English got." He then enumerated all the presents he had received, which he begged the surgeon to distribute among his friends and the rupacks.

The dying discourse of this child of nature so affected Tom Rose, who attended him, that he could not help sobbing most piteously, which Lee Boo observing, asked—"Why should he cry so, because Lee Boo die?"

Thinking Mrs. Wilson's illness arose from his own, he would frequently cry out, she being only in an adjoining chamber, "Lee Boo do well, mother."

The dreadful moment of separation being now arrived, he told Mr. Sharp he was going away; and yielded his last breath without apprehension, and with that native innocence and simplicity which had marked his every action.

The family, the servants, and those who knew him, could not withhold the tears of affectionate regard, when informed of the melancholy event.

The East India Company ordered Lee Boo to be buried in Rotherhithe church-yard, with every possible mark of respect. All who knew him, with the pupils at the academy, attended the funeral; and the concourse was otherwise so great, that it might be supposed his good qualities had been publicly proclaimed, instead of being privately communicated. A tomb, with this inscription, was soon after erected by the East India Company:

To the Memory
Of Prince Lee Boo,

A Native of the Pelew or Palos Islands;
And son to Abba Thulle, Rupack or King
Of the Island Cooroora *;

Who departed this Life on the 27th of December, 1784,
Aged 20 Years;

This Stone is inscribed,

By the Honourable United East India Company,
As a Testimony of Esteem

* Cooroora is the proper name of the Island, of which Pelew is the capital town.

For the Humane and Kind Treatment
 Afforded by his Father to the Crew of their Ship,
 The Antelope, CAPT. WILSON,
 Which was wrecked off that Island
 In the Night of the 9th of August, 1733.
 Stop, Reader, stop! Let Nature claim a Tear;
 A Prince of mine, Lee Boo, lies bury'd here.

This amiable young prince, whose residence here was only five months, conformed himself to the English dress in every instance, except his hair, which he continued to wear after the fashion of his own country. His countenance was so expressive, that it depicted the best qualities of a virtuous mind. His eyes were lively and intelligent; and his whole manner gentle and interesting. He had the natural politeness of a gentleman, without the drudgery of study, or the observance of established forms of ceremony. After his death, it was found that he had laid by all the seeds or stones of fruit he had eaten after his arrival, with a view to plant them at Pelew.

When we reflect on the unhappy fate of poor Lee Boo, with which the reader is now acquainted, the mind ranges to the habitation of his father Abba Thulle, who on a cord had tied thirty knots, as a memento that his son would return in thirty moons, or, perhaps a few more, for which he was willing to make allowance. Those moons have long since performed their revolutions. The knots are untied; and yet no gladdening sail hovers round Pelew. Lee Boo is dead in reality; and though no more, perhaps, even in the tortured imagination of his expecting family, yet the sight of an European vessel, even at some distant period, would animate their hopes, and recal the fondness of past endearments. How it would have gratified the heart of sensibility to know that this benevolent and confiding king had seen his son restored to his embraces; how will every reader lament that he probably must ever remain ignorant that Lee Boo can return no more!

VOYAGE OF
GOVERNOR PHILLIP

TO

BOTANY BAY ;

WITH A NARRATIVE OF THE SETTLEMENT
OF THE COLONIES AT
PORT JACKSON and NORFOLK ISLAND.

FOR a series of years, those who had forfeited a right to enjoy the blessings of society in their own country, and yet whose crimes did not call down capital punishment upon them, were transported to the British plantations in America. After the unfortunate contest between the colonies and the mother country, which it is well known terminated in the independence of the former, it became necessary for British convicts, not sentenced to die, to be employed in some way that might make them sensible of the crimes they had committed, and free the community from the dread of their future depredations. Banishment to the coast of Africa was generally found to be a harsher sentence than death in their own country; and the hulks on the Thames were little adapted to improve the abandoned, or prevent a repetition of crime. Penitentiary houses were soon seen to be equally inefficacious to answer at once the purpose of punishment and reformation; and therefore government projected the scheme of establishing a colony of convicts on the coast of New Holland. To this plan of wisdom, policy, and humanity united, the legislature gave its sanction in the beginning of

the year 1787, and preparations were immediately set about to carry it into execution.

Captain Arthur Phillip, of the navy, was appointed commodore of the voyage, and governor of the new colony; and it appears that a more prudent choice could not have been made. This gentleman was born in London, in 1738; and at the age of sixteen began his maritime career. He went through the usual routine of service with applause, was at the capture of the *Havannah*, and in 1761 was promoted to a lieutenancy by Admiral Sir George Pococke.

By the succeeding peace his services were rendered useless to his country, he therefore engaged in the Portuguese navy, in which he served with great reputation, till war breaking out between Britain and France, he returned to fight for his king and country; and was soon after made master and commander. In 1781, his merit procured him the rank of post captain, and he was appointed to the *Europe*, of sixty-four guns, towards the close of that year. In 1783 he sailed with a reinforcement to the East Indies, where he remained till the conclusion of the war.

Prudent and active, a perfect master of his profession, and estimable as a man and an officer, those qualities could not fail to recommend him to the attention of his superiors, and to point him out as a proper person to conduct an enterprise of no ordinary difficulty.

The fleet began to rendezvous about the middle of March 1787. It consisted of the *Sirius* frigate, Captain John Hunter; the *Supply*, armed tender, Lieutenant H. L. Ball; the *Golden Grove*, *Fishburn*, and *Borrowdale*, store ships; and the *Scarborough*, *Lady Penrhyn*, *Friendship*, *Charlotte*, *Prince of Wales*, and *Alexander*, transports.

As this was a voyage of uncommon length, and its object was not of a temporary nature, a considerable time was necessary to equip and provide the ships, and to make such arrangements as might prevent miscarriage or avoidable danger. Besides the usual comple-

ment of sailors, a party of two hundred and twelve marines, including officers, were distributed in the different ships to keep the convicts in awe; and these marines had twenty-eight wives and seventeen children allowed to accompany them. The whole number of convicts amounted to eight hundred and twenty-eight, of whom five hundred and fifty-eight were males.

Governor Phillip having hoisted his flag on board the *Sirius*, as commodore, gave the signal to weigh on the 13th of May 1787, and was accompanied to some distance by the *Hyæna* frigate, to carry back dispatches, if necessary.

The wind having wafted them along at a great rate, on the 20th the *Hyæna* returned, and brought intelligence, that the convicts in the *Scarborough* had formed a plan for getting possession of that ship, which the officers had timely detected and prevented. This was the only attempt of the kind made during the voyage: when these victims to justice found themselves at a distance from their native shores, it is probable they gave up all thoughts of liberty and yielded to their fate.

During their passage to Santa Cruz, where the fleet anchored on the 3d of June, they had generally favourable gales, and experienced no disaster deserving mention. The chief object that induced Governor Phillip to touch at Teneriffe, was to procure a fresh supply of water and vegetables. Here the crew and convicts were indulged with every article of food that could tend to promote health and remove disease; and the judicious and humane plans of Captain Cook were uniformly observed during the voyage, and in general, with the best effects. It cannot indeed be said, nor was it reasonable to be expected, that the mortality was so small, in proportion to the numbers, as under that able navigator. Numbers of the convicts were advanced in years, and their constitutions had been previously broken by their dissipated habits, or the long confinement of a prison.

They spent a week at this place, and during their stay, the Governor of the Canaries paid the most polite attention to the English officers, and exerted himself to render their visit agreeable.

These islands were certainly known, in some degree, to the ancients, who dignified them with the title of *Fortunate*; and invented many fables respecting them, which had little foundation in truth or nature. But the moderns are not wholly free from the same imputation. For a long time, the Isle of Ferro was celebrated for producing a miraculous tree, round which mists were said perpetually to hover, and distilling into rain, supplied the whole island with water. This fiction, it is almost needless to say, can only be equalled by the accounts with which the public have been amused, respecting the poison tree of Java. The Canaries, indeed, produce no wonders but what are common to volcanic countries. The Peak of Teneriffe, one of the greatest natural curiosities, has had no eruption of any consequence for near a century; nor, with all its boasted height, is it equal to Mount Blanc in Switzerland*.

Finding vegetables less plentiful here than they expected, they weighed anchor on the 10th of June, with an intention of making a short stay at Port Praya; and in eight days they came in sight of the Cape Verd Islands, when the fleet steered for St. Jago. Unfavourable winds, however, rendered it likely to prevent their getting into the harbour; and that no time might be lost, the governor altered his plan, and proceeded directly to Rio de Janeiro. This was a sensible disappointment to many on board, who were naturally desirous of embracing every opportunity of enjoying the refreshments of the shore. But influenced by expedience alone and a regard to his duty, he determined

* The elevation of Mount Blanc above the level of the sea is calculated at fifteen thousand six hundred and seventy-three feet, that of Teneriffe at twelve thousand one hundred and fifty.

not to lose time, which in every point of view was an important consideration.

They had already suffered some inconvenience from heat, attended by heavy rains; but before they reached the equator, contrary to what might reasonably have been looked for, the temperature became more moderate, and the crews happily continued in tolerable health.

On the whole the weather was most propitious, and they made such progress, that on the 5th of August they came to an anchor off the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro. This city, otherwise called St. Sebastian, is situated on the west side of a bay, somewhat less than a degree from the tropic of Capricorn. It has long been considered as the capital of the Brazils, and is the residence of the viceroy. The diamond mines in the vicinity have procured it this distinction; and its port must be allowed to be one of the finest in the world. It is well fortified, and furnishes a most eligible and safe station for ships. The port dues are pretty high; but these are never exacted for king's ships, and as Governor Phillip alleged that the transports were laden with royal stores, the whole fleet escaped this customary payment.

Don Lewis de Varconcellos was viceroy. He belonged to one of the noblest families in Portugal, and was not quite unknown to Governor Phillip, who had been some years in the service of that nation. The reception he gave the English was the most polite and flattering imaginable, nor was it tinged with that jealous caution, which some other voyagers seemed to have had great cause to complain of, when they touched at the same place.

As soon as the viceroy was informed of the nature of Governor Phillip's commission, he gave orders that military honours should be paid him; and the officers, in general, were indulged with permission to visit all parts of the city, and even to make excursions into the country, without the prying vigilance of guards.

Provisions of every kind are so excessively cheap here, that the men were liberally victualled at less than four pence a head per day, including meat, rice, vegetables, and firing. Wine was not plentiful at that season; but a considerable quantity of rum was laid in; and such seeds and plants were procured as appeared adapted to the climate of New South Wales. And lest bread should become scarce, one hundred sacks of cassada were purchased as a substitute. This root is very generally used for bread in the tropical climates, and proves wholesome and nutritious. Nevertheless, in its crude state, it is highly poisonous; but by washing, pressure, and evaporation, becomes not only innocent but salubrious. The art of man triumphs over nature in many instances as well as this.

At almost every corner of the streets, in this city, are images, to which an external devotion, at least, is paid by every catholic passenger. Sometimes the votaries offer up their prayers aloud, and the air resounds with the notes of hymns. But notwithstanding this appearance of sanctity, the morals of the people do not possess corresponding purity; so much easier is it to perform outward rites, than to acquire internal principles of religion. The greatest devotees are commonly the most abandoned; and the catholic profession, in particular, is so obscured by idle ceremonies, that an attention to them naturally draws off the mind from essentials.

Though no time was lost in expediting the necessary business, a month elapsed before they were ready for sailing. At length, on the 4th of September they weighed anchor, and passing the fort at the mouth of the harbour, interchanged a salute of twenty-one guns.

Having once more set forward on their destined voyage, they were favoured with such propitious weather, that their progress to the Cape of Good Hope was unproductive of any events worthy of being recorded. A prosperous voyage, like a peaceful life, though most delightful to the parties concerned, is least favourable

for the purpose of narration. It is the storm of the elements, or the conflict of passions, that furnishes displays to rivet the attention. This long run, of about four thousand miles, was performed in thirty-nine days.

It was the 13th of October when they arrived in Table Bay at the Cape. Here they took in their final refreshments, and supplied themselves with such necessaries as were to be procured. Table Bay is a very unsafe station, particularly in the winter months; and at that season of the year, False Bay, on the south-east side of the Cape, is generally preferred, as being more secure.

Our voyagers found provisions in less abundance at the Cape than they had reason to expect, and at considerably higher prices. Board and lodging, in private houses, cost the officers about nine shillings a day, and every thing was proportionably high. But, it is probable, the necessity foreign ships are known to be under of touching here, teaches the natives extortion. Most people are inclined to improve the advantages of their situation, when they are sensible there is no alternative but to submit to their demands.

In the space of a month no less than five hundred animals, of different kinds, were procured and put on board the ships, and an equal stock of other necessaries was laid in; but at a high price. The country indeed had previously suffered from a dearth, and this naturally increased the difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply at any price. The governor of the Cape paid them the most respectful attention, and entertained the officers at his table.

On the 12th of November they again set sail, but owing to contrary winds, they found themselves no farther advanced than eighty leagues on the 25th of that month. At this time Governor Phillip went on board the Supply, in hopes of reaching Botany Bay before the rest of the fleet arrived, and of gaining time to explore the country, that a debarkation might take

place without delay. Major Ross, the commandant of marines, went on board the Scarborough, and with that ship, the Alexander and Friendship, reputed the best sailers, had orders to proceed, and to leave the rest of the convoy under the conduct of Captain Hunter.

From the date of this arrangement, to the 3d of January, 1788, the weather was as favourable as could be wished, and the winds wafted them on with little impediment. The Supply, however, turned out but an indifferent sailer to what had been expected; nevertheless she performed this voyage of seven thousand miles in fifty-one days.

The governor having landed at Botany Bay on the 18th, after experiencing some contrary winds on the coast, an interview with the natives took place. They were all armed; but seeing Governor Phillip approach alone, and without weapons, making signs of friendship, they returned his confidence by laying down their arms. These people were perfectly naked; but appeared fond of ornaments, and were pleased to wear whatever was given them. Amity was soon established, which happy effect was owing to the personal address of the governor. His orders indeed enjoined the utmost attention to conciliate the affection of the natives; and his own humane conduct rendered it delightful for him to observe them.

He now proceeded to examine the bay; but it was found in every respect less eligible than had been represented, both in itself, and in the surrounding country, which was low and swampy. He then reconnoitred Point Sutherland; but to this part of the harbour ships could not approach, nor was the soil more tempting than before.

While engaged in this necessary business, the whole fleet arrived. The Supply had not so much outsailed the other ships as to give the governor the time he expected. The last division arrived only two days later than himself.

Finding Botany Bay unfit for the intended settlement, he resolved to examine Port Jackson, which lay to the north, about three leagues distant; and here all difficulties were found to be at an end. The port was deep and secure, and after exploring the different coves, he fixed on one which had the finest spring of water, and in which ships could anchor close to the shore. This the governor named Sydney Cove, in honour of the noble lord of that title who was then in administration.

Soon after the boats arrived at Port Jackson, another party of the natives made their appearance. They were armed with lances, and at first shewed an hostile disposition; but by gentle means were prevailed on to lay aside their suspicions, and to accept some presents. A person who appeared to be a chief among them, shewed very singular marks of confidence in the strangers, and at the same time much resolution. He singly attended the governor, went to a part of the beach where the men were boiling their meat, examined the contents of the pot, and seeing himself separated from his friends, advanced to a party of marines, and by his gestures seemed to threaten revenge, if any advantage should be taken of his exposed situation. It is probable he might profit by what he saw; and as the natives of this coast have no other mode of dressing their food than by broiling, a new plan of cookery could not be a small acquisition to them.

As they kindle fires with much labour, when once lighted they generally keep them burning, or at least never extinguish them; but convey them from place to place even in their canoes.

In examining a different part of the harbour, they fell in with about twenty of the natives, who, fearless and unarmed, approached to view the boats. Pleased with their confidence, the governor called the spot Manly Cove, in testimony of the manly behaviour they shewed. These people afterwards joined the English at dinner. One of them had a kind of white clay rub-

bed over the upper part of his face, as a mark of distinction not unusual amongst them. A woman had been seen on the rocks thus ornamented, who made a most disgusting appearance; but in the eyes of her countrymen she probably had superior attractions.

Having sufficiently explored Port Jackson, and found it replete with conveniences, the governor was determined to hesitate no longer, and immediately issued his orders for the whole fleet to proceed to this place.

That Botany Bay should be so highly extolled by Captain Cook, may easily be accounted for. He had no views of a permanent stay, and did not scrutinize its advantages. The land has certainly a picturesque effect, and the ample harvest of botanical curiosities it furnished, might entitle it to the commendation of the scientific; but something more than beauty of appearance and philosophical riches were to be regarded, in a place where numbers were to be established, and a lasting settlement formed.

Just as preparations were making for a general removal to the intended station, two French ships appeared, and spread consternation through the whole fleet. Accident, it was supposed by many, could not bring about such an event; and conjecture as to a motive was lost in uncertainty. While imagination was thus busy in painting idle fears, or forming useless schemes, the governor fortunately recollected, that the French were engaged in a voyage of discovery, and concluded that these two ships had been on that business. But the wind and currents preventing the French from approaching the harbour, and even driving them off the coast, he did not delay proceeding to Port Jackson on their account.

Scarcely however was the Supply, which led the squadron, out of sight, when the strangers again made their appearance off the mouth of the harbour, when a boat was dispatched with offers of any assistance or information in the power of the English to give. The governor's opinion was now verified, it was found

that these vessels were the Boussole and the Astrolabe, under the command of M. de la Peyrouse.

On the 26th of January, all the transports and store ships finally evacuated Botany Bay, and in a short time assembled in safety at Port Jackson. The French ships had anchored in the former, before the departure of the Sirius, and Peyrouse had expressed his wish, that letters might be forwarded to Europe through the medium of the English. Governor Phillip being apprized of this, readily accepted the intended charge, with assurances of punctual delivery.

M. Peyrouse having sailed from France in June 1785, touched first at St. Catharine on the coast of Brazil, and entered the Pacific Ocean by Cape Horn. Coasting along Chili and California, he afterwards visited Easter Island, Nootka Sound, Kamtschatka, the Sandwich and Friendly Islands. In this tedious voyage he had lost none of his men by sickness; but the crew of two boats had unfortunately perished in the surf on the north-west coast of America; and at Masuna, one of the Isles de Navigateurs, where they had touched, M. l'Angle, captain of the Astrolabe, had been cut off by treachery. That unfortunate officer had gone ashore with the long-boats, on a watering expedition, accompanied by forty men. The natives had hitherto shewn the most marked civility and good-will; and no change of disposition, or cause for it being known, the French, trusting to the unbroken state of amity, had suffered the boats to lie aground. This want of precaution, it is probable, tempted the natives to attack the party, which they did in prodigious numbers, throwing volleys of stones with great force and precision of direction. M. l'Angle and twelve of his men fell a sacrifice to their fury, and the rest with difficulty escaped in their small boats.

The ships being under sail, and out of sight of this melancholy catastrophe, received the first tidings of the affray from those who escaped; and it was too late to attempt revenge. The fate of De l'Angle, added to other recorded instances of the sudden and sanguinary

resentments of savages, gives a lesson of prudent caution to all navigators; for though policy and humanity recommend the practice of mild forbearance, and the study of conciliating the affections of the natives, prudence requires that defensive plans should not be neglected, and that a certain degree of awe should be kept up*.

The debarkation being completed at Sydney Cove, the ground was immediately cleared for an encampment, and store houses and other temporary buildings were begun. The labour attending this was not small: the whole coast is covered with wood, and though on this spot the trees were less thick, and not much encumbered with underwood, yet their magnitude was such, as to render the felling, and removal of them afterwards, a very arduous task, had the convicts been more active workmen than they really were.

In the evening of the 26th, the British colours were displayed on shore, under which the king's health was drank, and other appropriate toasts, with much glee. The bustle of business succeeded, and till the end of the first week in February, all was a scene of hurry and exertion.

The materials and frame work, of a temporary residence for the governor, had been brought from England; and this was speedily erected. Hospital tents were also fitted up, with all the speed that the exigency of circumstances began to demand. During the passage from the Cape, the fleet had been tolerably healthy; but soon after landing, the dysentery prevailed, and the scurvy broke out with its most virulent symptoms. In the former complaint, the red gum, which is abundantly produced on the coast, was found very efficacious.

The tree which yields this valuable gum, is of considerable size, and grows to a great height without branches. The gum is perfectly soluble in water, and

* The issue of this voyage is still unknown. M. de la Peyrouse never returned; nor have any traces of his fate been discovered.

is drawn from the tree by incision, or taken out of the veins of the wood when dry. The leaves somewhat resemble those of a willow: the wood is heavy and fine-grained, but so saturated with the gum which runs through its numberless channels, that it is applicable to few purposes, particularly when green.

A yellow gum, or rather resin, is also found here, the produce of a low small tree, with a kind of gramineous leaves. From the centre of these leaves, the fructification proceeds on a single stem, in a very singular manner, to the height of twelve or fourteen feet. Of this stem, which is strong and light, the natives form their spears, and frequently point them with bone. The resin is most commonly dug out of the soil at the root of the tree, and seems to be what Tasman calls the gum lac of the earth.

February commenced with a violent storm of thunder and rain, during which the lightning struck and shivered a tree, under which was a sheep pen, and five of these animals were destroyed by its effects.

It may be proper to observe, that Port Jackson was not visited by Captain Cook, but only seen at a distance, or it is probable he would have done justice to such a noble harbour, which, in the opinion of Governor Phillip, is superior to any in the known world for extent and security. The entrance is only about two miles across; but it soon spreads into a noble and capacious bason, with soundings sufficient for the largest vessels. It contains not less than one hundred small coves, formed by projections of the land, which afford shelter from all winds. Sydney Cove lies on the south side, about six miles from the entrance. Trees cover even the most rocky spots. The soil is of various qualities, consisting of woodland, heath, and swamps; but in general the country is one continued forest.

Some parts of the shores of this noble harbour presented a promising soil for cultivation; but intent solely on providing the best and earliest accommodations for the colonists, the governor used all possible expedition

in fixing the settlement at the head of Sydney Cove, where landing the stores was easy, and carriage unnecessary.

By assiduous application they had made such progress, that by the 7th of February, a spot being previously cleared, and the whole colony assembled, the governor began to assume his powers. To give all due solemnity to the proceedings, the military were drawn up under arms; the convicts stationed apart, and the principal officers surrounded the governor. The royal commission was then read by Mr. Collins, the judge advocate, by which Arthur Phillip was constituted Captain General and Governor in Chief of the territory of New South Wales, from lat. 10 deg. 37 min. south, to 43 deg. 39 min. along the coast, and of all the interior country as far as 135 degrees of east longitude from Greenwich, including the adjacent islands in the Pacific, within the above latitudes.

The act of parliament establishing the courts of judicature, where next read; and lastly, the patents under the great seal, empowering the persons named to act, whenever it should be found requisite. Major Ross of the marines was appointed Lieutenant Governor; and a tripple discharge of musketry concluded this preliminary ceremony.

The governor then advanced, and addressing the military, thanked them for their commendable conduct hitherto; and then turning to the convicts, explained to them the nature of their present situation and future prospects. He represented, that by the lenity of the laws, their lives had been preserved, and that on their subsequent behaviour it would depend, to gain a re-establishment of the rights and advantages of civil society. To proper conduct and commendable exertion, he told them they had every inducement; and on the contrary, should they misbehave, their crimes in such a small community could not escape detection, nor punishment. All that mercy could do for them had already been experienced, and against future offences the laws

would be enforced with rigour. But while his duty obliged him to hold out the rigours of punishment, it would be his happiness to grant every encouragement to the meritorious, proportioned to their deserts. As a bar against profligacy of manners, he strongly recommended matrimony, and promised every countenance to such as should enter into that state, and shew their promptitude to conform to the laws of morality and religion. He concluded with expressing his earnest desire to promote the happiness of the colony over which he was placed, and to render the settlement honourable and useful to his country.

This harangue was received with universal applause; and it was soon seen that it was not wholly lost; for in a few days fourteen marriages took place among the convicts.

The company being dispersed, the governor proceeded to review the troops, after which he gave a dinner to the officers; and the first evening of his entry upon the offices of his government was spent in innocent festivity, amidst reiterated wishes for its prosperity.

Active, intelligent, and persevering, with firmness to make his authority respected, and mildness to render it pleasing, no person seemed better adapted than Governor Phillip for the arduous office he had undertaken. As much depended on being at peace with the natives, it was his determination to avoid disputes, if possible, and to conciliate their good will. But the sequel will shew, that all his exertions in this respect could not effect the end proposed.

While M. de la Peyrouse remained in Botany Bay, he was unfortunately obliged to have recourse to fire-arms against the natives; and this affair, joined to the subsequent ill conduct of some of the convicts, produced a shyness which it was found difficult to remove. Perhaps, to actual ills the aborigines suffered, might be added their indignant feelings at seeing their shores usurped by strangers, who deprived them of some of their best fishing places. Such circumstances could

not be pleasing: even the most unenlightened have some ideas of natural and original rights, which they either reluctantly part with, or strenuously defend.

As February advanced, the rains began to fall with greater violence, and the necessity for procuring shelter became the more urgent. To the carpenters, all the convicts of this profession were added, and one hundred of them as labourers, to expedite their temporary buildings. Yet it was some months before they were finished, or the governor could leave his first house, which were neither impervious to the winds nor rains.

Captain Cook having discovered an island, in lat. 29 deg. south, longitude 168 deg. 10 min. east, which he named Norfolk Island, and spoke of in terms of high commendation, a party was sent out in the *Supply*, about the middle of February, to settle there. To be superintendant of this subordinate colony, the governor appointed Lieutenant Philip Gidley King, of the *Sirius*, an officer of approved merit and fidelity. As the island was uninhabited, the gentleman had only six marines under a subaltern officer, a midshipman, a surgeon, two men who understood the cultivation and dressing of flax, nine male, and six female convicts. Due regulations were established for the conduct of this enterprise; and every precaution was taken to render this small colony at once safe and happy.

The governor had not been long established at Sydney Cove, before he found that many individuals under his care were so lost to all sense of right and wrong, and so regardless even of life itself, that they could not be restrained from offences against their countrymen, or kept from exposing themselves to the savages. Milder means having been tried, and proved to be ineffectual, a criminal court was convened, in which six of the convicts were condemned to die. One of the most daring was executed the same day, another was pardoned, and the remainder were banished to a small island within the bay, where they were subsisted on bread and water. These people had been convicted of frequently robbing the stores, though they had a liberal allowance

of provisions; but it seemed as if habit had confirmed the necessity of their following their former nefarious practices, without the least temptation or excuse.

On the 2d of March, the governor set out in the long-boat and cutter, to examine the coast. He proceeded first to Broken Bay, about eight miles to the north of Port Jackson. Here he fell in with a few of the natives, who appeared friendly; and passing a bar, sailed up an extensive branch of water, which ended in a large lagoon. The land in the upper part of this branch was low and swampy.

Crossing the bay, he sailed up the south-west branch, which he also found very extensive, and sufficiently deep for ships of any burthen; but the incessant rains prevented him from taking an accurate survey. The land here possesses more elevation than at Port Jackson, and is well wooded. Large trees appeared on the very summits of the mountains, inaccessible by man. A third branch presented a very fine piece of water, which the governor named Pitt Water, in honour of the premier. This was found deep and very extensive. Some situations in the vicinity appeared well adapted for agriculture.

During this excursion, several interviews with the natives took place. At one place they were visited by a few women, in company with the men. One of these females was remarkably cheerful and talkative, which is not usual, at least in the presence of their countrymen, of whom they stand in great awe, and from whom they experience little indulgence. Frequently have the women been seen labouring in the canoes, encumbered with infants at the breast.

On another occasion, as the governor and his company were drawing the seine, a number of the natives again joined them; when it was for the first time observed, that the women in general had lost two joints of the left hand little finger. What could occasion such a singular amputation they could not satisfactorily learn: for it was found in young girls about five or six years of age; and some who were far advanced in life

had this finger entire. It therefore cannot be a distinguishing mark of puberty or marriage; neither is it universal, though wholly confined to females*.

A remarkable peculiarity, however, attends the men; for, though their fingers are entire, most of them want the right front tooth of the upper jaw. Governor Phillip resembling them in this respect, pointed out the agreement, which occasioned a general clamour: and it is probable he derived some consequence, in their eyes, from this corresponding defect. The cartilage of their nostrils is also perforated, as described by Captain Cook, and through this they thrust a long bone or stick, by way of ornament, which the sailors ludicrously call their sprit-sail yard. Some of the old men, however, had neither this ornament, nor wanted a tooth, so that these may be the marks of distinctions. When clothes are not worn, the body must bear the badge of dignity.

Several of these people had their skin raised into small vesicles, appearing full of wind; and their bodies were artificially scarred in various parts. Even the head is sometimes marked with these disgusting scars; and one person seemed to take a particular pride in shewing his acquired deformities, as if they entitled him to honour.

The females had a degree of timidity about them, which kept them generally at a distance; not that they appeared to feel any impropriety in being in a state of nature, but probably from the natural reserve of the sex, or the fear of offending the men, by whom they were evidently kept in great subordination.

The natives were observed to fish with hooks made of the internal surface of a shell, resembling mother

* A traveller of credit informs us, that a tribe of Hotte-tots, near Orange River, have all lost the first joint of the little finger; but among them a reason for this is given, that it is a cure for a particular disorder to which they are subject. It would be a singular coincidence, to find that the natives of New Holland use this amputation on the same account.

pearl, and they are not deficient in dexterity in this art, from which they derive their principal subsistence.

In exploring a part of Broken Bay, the boat found some difficulty in landing, which being observed by an old man and a youth, they appeared solicitous to render the strangers any assistance, and ran and fetched some fire to warm them. As it rained hard, the old man beckoned two of the officers to a cave, which he entered himself, and invited them to follow; but his motives being suspected, though probably without reason, they declined his invitation. He afterwards, however, shewed his friendly attention; and in a short time, when the governor came to the spot, he entertained him with a dance and a song. Several presents were made this sociable savage, which he received with abundant satisfaction; but he soon found means to steal a spade, and was caught in the fact. The governor, thinking it necessary to evince his displeasure, pushed him away in seeming anger, and pointed to the spade as the cause. This at once destroyed their harmony. The old man instantly seized a spear, and advancing to the governor, seemed determined to strike; but seeing his threats occasioned no alarm, he perhaps reflected on his temerity, and desisted from the attempt. His courage, however, was eminently conspicuous; for, when he meditated the assault, the governor was not alone. Indeed, from several occurrences, the natives of this coast do not appear deficient in natural bravery. Next day the old man repeated his visit, in company with several of his countrymen; but, to convince him of his fault, he was little noticed, while his companions were presented with various articles agreeable to them.

Having thus gained some partial knowledge of the country and inhabitants, the governor returned to the settlement by sea, though it was his intention to have proceeded by land, had not the incessant rains rendered this unpleasant.

On the 10th of March, M. de la P. yrouse left Bo-

tany Bay. He had previously forwarded letters to Governor Phillip, to be delivered to the French ambassador at the English court. Both parties were too busy to have much intercourse; but some friendly visits were paid the French, who behaved with their usual politeness and hospitality. A few of the convicts found means to present themselves to the French commodore, and requested admission into his ships; but with a due sense of honour, he rejected their suit. While these vessels lay at Botany Bay, they lost Father le Receveur, who was engaged as naturalist on board the *Astrolabe*. He had received some wounds in the unfortunate affray, in which the captain of that ship was killed, which afterwards proved his death. A slight monumental inscription was put up to his memory, which the natives soon destroyed; but Governor Phillip caused the same words to be engraven on copper, and affixed to a neighbouring tree. It seems that M. de la Peyrouse had paid a similar tribute of respect to the memory of Captain Clerke, at the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamschatka. It is with pleasure we record these instances of generous philanthropy between rival nations. Would they were more frequent!

On the 19th of March, Lieutenant Ball, in the *Supply*, arrived from Norfolk Island, which the detachment had reached on the 29th of February; but were five days before they could find a proper landing-place for the stores and provisions. This island being environed by rocks, it is difficult even for a man to get on shore. However, at last they found a proper station, and the commandant wrote a very favourable account of the appearance of his new territory.

Norfolk Island is about seven leagues in circumference, and is evidently of volcanic origin. Of the crater there are still some traces on the summit of a small mountain, near the centre of the island, which obtained the name of Mount Pitt. Its whole extent is covered with the noblest pines in the world, and the richness of

the soil is almost beyond belief. Grain and garden seeds vegetated most luxuriantly, except such as had been injured by carriage, or the weevil.

This island is extremely well watered, and near Mount Pitt a strong and copious stream takes its rise, which is capable of turning mills. The climate is most delightful and salubrious; and the winter is so mild, that vegetation receives no check from it, but one crop succeeds another. Verdure is perpetual: but not a blade of grass was to be seen. The animals, however, thrive very well on the leaves of plants, trees, and shrubs.

The trees were so bound together by supple-jack, that it was difficult to penetrate them: nevertheless the commandant and his little party soon cleared a small spot, where the necessary buildings were erected, and esculent plants sown. Barley and wheat, as far as the soil had been cleared, prospered beyond description; but the seed of the latter having been injured, a deficiency in quantity was the natural consequence. At this period, however, it is probable, that every inconvenience of that kind is done away, and that the natural fertility of the soil is not impeded by accidental causes.

Fish and turtle abound on the coast; and the woods are peopled by innumerable tribes of birds of the most beautiful plumage. Guinea-fowls, generally white, are plentiful and tame. The principal esculent vegetables are the cabbage-palm, the wild plantain, the fern-tree; and a kind of wild spinach.

But the most valuable productions, by far, are the pines, and the flax plant. The pines arrive at a magnitude unusual in any other part of the world: some of them are one hundred and sixty, or even one hundred and eighty feet in height, and nine or ten feet in diameter, at the bottom of the trunk. They frequently rise to eighty feet without a branch; and the wood is said to be of the best quality, and adapted for masts or

spars. The turpentine obtained from them is remarkable for its purity and whiteness.

The flax plant is still more extraordinary. Its leaves resemble flags, and of them, with very little preparation, cordage and apparel may be made. This valuable plant is perennial, and has a bulbous root. It is very common in New Zealand, as well as in Norfolk Island, and has been particularly described in Captain Cook's Voyages.

One disadvantage, however, attends Norfolk Island, which is the want of a good landing-place. A midshipman and four men were unfortunately lost in the surf, soon after Lieutenant King arrived at this spot; but it is probable, that subsequent examinations of the coast have brought to light a better spot to land at, than what was first discovered and used.

Rats are the only quadrupeds found here; and from these and the ants some damage to the different crops was reasonably apprehended; but on the whole, this island promises to be an acquisition of some consequence.

In his passage to Norfolk Island, Lieutenant Ball discovered an uninhabited island in latitude 31 deg. 36 min. south, which he named after Lord Howe. On examination, the shores were found to abound in turtle, but to furnish no good anchorage. Part of this new discovery rises to a great height, and may be seen at a vast distance.

To facilitate the cultivation of Norfolk Island, a farther detachment was sent out from Port Jackson, consisting of an officer and eight marines, twenty male, and ten female, convicts. But from this digression we must return to the settlement at Sydney Cove.

During the month of March, some of the transports were unloaded, and discharged; and the rest were of course detained, till the store-houses were completed to receive the cargoes.

On the 15th of April, the governor set out on another excursion into the country, attended by several officers

and a party of marines. They landed at Shell Cove, near the northern entrance of the harbour. Proceeding in this direction, they arrived at a large lake, surrounded by morasses. On this lake they observed a black swan, which, though proverbially rare in other countries, is not uncommon here. It is a very beautiful species: the wings are edged with white, and the bill is tinged with red.

So many swamps and bogs impeded their progress in this quarter, that it was three days before they got to firm ground. Almost all the morasses are occasioned by the overflowing of the springs; and nothing more fully evinces the improvements that civilization and agriculture introduce, than the contemplation of such scenes, where the labour and ingenuity of man have never been exerted to reclaim the soil. In process of time, there is no doubt, that corn may wave and cattle feed, where at first it was scarcely possible for man to penetrate.

Behind these low marshy grounds, they came to rocks and barren tracks. The hills, however, were covered with flowering shrubs; and at the distance of fifteen miles from the sea-coast, they had an enchanting view of the mountains in the interior. The various ridges of these obtained the appellations of Carmarthen, Landsdown, and Richmond Hills. It appeared probable, that a considerable stream flowed between these mountains; but the stock of provisions being spent, the governor returned without farther examination.

The governor made another tour of the country soon after, landing in a different part of the harbour. At first they had open country; but in a short time arrived at thickets, which rendered their passage, in that direction, impracticable. They were now obliged to keep close to the banks of a small creek, by which means they passed the cover; and for the three succeeding days pursued a westward course. The country was delightfully fine, for the most part campaign, or rising gentle eminences, which had a very elegant and pic

turesque appearance. The trees grow at considerable intervals, and were entirely free from underwood.

On the 5th day they reached the top of an ascent, from which they had a prospect of Carmarthen and Landsdown Hills. This landscape was so beautiful, that the governor called it Bellevue. Being still, as they conjectured, about thirty miles from the mountains, which they proposed to reach, and being furnished with no more than six days' provisions, it was again found necessary to return.

They had now experienced the difficulty of making any distant excursions in this country. Deep ravines, and other unexpected obstacles, frequently diverted them from their course; and it was found impossible to ascertain what time might be required in passing a certain track. The present excursion had taken up five days, and, in a direct line, it was supposed they were not more than thirty miles from the coast. They were able, however to return in a day and a half, from having marked the trees as they passed, and pursuing the same path.

Prepossessed with a belief, that the knowledge of the country would well repay them for farther attempts at exploring it, another expedition was projected, in which it was determined, if possible, to reach Landsdown Hills, where they thought it probable they might fall in with a river of such magnitude as would facilitate their communication with the inland parts; but the indifferent health of the governor, who had been injured by sleeping on the wet ground, delayed the prosecution of the journey.

The country last explored, appeared so well calculated for cultivation, that it was resolved to send a detachment to settle there as soon as circumstances would permit. But though the soil was naturally so fertile, it was matter of astonishment, how the natives could procure subsistence, as they were ignorant of the means of deriving any advantages from local situations, however propitious. On the coast, indeed, they principally

subsist on fish; but in the interior parts, the English, with the assistance of fire-arms, could scarcely procure game for more than half their necessary support. Yet the appearance of temporary huts, proved beyond a doubt, that these parts were frequented by the natives. Near one of the huts, the bones of a kangaroo were discovered, and a piece of a root, resembling that of the fern-tree, was picked up, which seemed as if it had been recently chewed. None of the inhabitants, however, were seen in these excursions; they either fled the approach of the strangers, or concealed themselves.

Indeed it is likely, that the natives are few in number, in the inland places; and exiled from the society on the coasts: for it can scarcely be a matter of choice, to fix their habitations where the supplies of life are so few and precarious.

The huts were constructed of single pieces of bark, about eleven feet long, and from four to six broad, bent in the middle, and set up so as to form an acute angle. These may perhaps afford shelter from the rain, or conceal them from the beasts for which they lie in wait. The bark of many trees appeared deeply cut, to facilitate climbing, and in several of them were holes, which had been originally formed by some animal, and enlarged by the natives. The kangaroo, the opossum, and the squirrel, take refuge in these places, and the natives surprise them in their retreats.

The remains of fires were visible in several places: but no bones of fish near them, on which the natives had fed. How they subsist, therefore, must be left to future discovery. Kangaroos were frequently seen, but they were very shy, and difficult to be shot. Yet these animals were more numerous near the encampment than in any other place.

This singular animal resembles the jerboa, in its progressive motion; but the pouch of the female connects it with the opossum genus. The different specimens brought to England, vary much in size. One has been shot that weighed one hundred and forty pounds. The

longest measured eight feet five inches from the tip of the nose to the extremity of the tail. The greatest circumference is round the bottom of the belly and hips, the upper parts gradually tapering. The fore legs measured nineteen inches; the hind ones three feet seven inches. The tail was two feet and three quarters, pretty thick towards the rump, and tapering downwards. The ears, for the most part, stand erect, and the head somewhat resembles that of a fawn. The fore legs are furnished with five toes, armed with claws, but being so much shorter than the hind legs, are of no use in walking, but are merely employed in digging holes, and bringing food to the mouth. The hinder legs are very strong; and when sitting, the animal rests on them, the rump being elevated some inches from the ground. The hind toes are only three in number, the middlemost of which is very long. The tail is generally carried erect; and the general colour of the skin is a pale brown, inclining to ash.

There is reason to believe, that this animal is peculiar to New Holland, and being the largest of its quadrupeds, hitherto discovered, a more particular description of it is necessary, than of the other parts of animated nature.

From the very conformation of the kangaroo, it appears, that its progressive motion can only be by leaps, which have been known to exceed twenty feet at once, and this so often repeated, as almost to distance a fleet greyhound. It is capable of bounding over obstacles ten feet high, with the greatest ease; and when overtaken by a dog, its strength is so great, and its resolution so firm, that it generally releases itself. In encounters of this kind, it uses its tail with great force. It is therefore generally shot by Europeans; but the natives have the art of catching it. It seems to be gregarious, feeding in flocks of twenty or thirty; and one is observed to be always stationed on the watch, at some distance, when the rest are thus employed.

Young kangaroos have been taken, which in a few

days grew very tame, but they seldom lived long; probably from an ignorance in supplying them with their proper food.

In the last-mentioned excursion, the dung of a graminivorous animal was seen, which, it was supposed, could not be less than a horse; but no traces of the animal itself were perceived. It is not probable, however, that this could belong to the kangaroo, unless it arrives at a size beyond what has hitherto been observed.

Though the natives of New Holland have made so little progress in the useful arts, as not to attempt to clothe themselves, they are not without some ideas of sculpture. In every excursion governor Phillip made, he saw figures of men, animals, and weapons, engraved on the rocks with characteristic rudeness. On the top of one of the hills, the figure of a man in a dancing attitude was not badly expressed. That the imitative arts should precede those of utility, is a phenomenon in the history of man; but the progress of the human mind is sometimes so desultory, as to set theory at defiance.

It was seldom found, that they could proceed a quarter of a mile, without seeing trees that had been on fire. As violent thunder storms are not unfrequent, some of these may have been fired by the lightning; but it is certain, that the natives never are at the trouble of extinguishing a fire they have once kindled, so that it either communicates its flames to the tree, or accidentally goes out.

On his return from this expedition, the governor had the mortification to find, that five ewes and a lamb had been killed very near the camp, in the middle of the day. This accident, it was conjectured, arose from the dogs of the natives; but the real cause was never known. The loss, however, was serious, as it could not be soon replaced.

In the beginning of May, three of the transports which had been cleared, sailed for China; and the Sup-

ply was sent out to Lord Howe's Island for turtle, in hopes of checking the scurvy, which made a rapid progress among the settlers.

By this time, with great labour and assiduity, eight or ten acres had been cleared, and were sown with barley and wheat. Such was the first agricultural attempt, in a country where, we are now told, volunteer settlers are likely to make a competent fortune in a few years, by the tillage of the ground alone.

On the 25th of May, the Supply returned, but had failed in procuring any turtle. She had met with squally weather, and had sustained some damage, but not of great importance.

About this time, one of the convicts, who had strayed to some distance in search of vegetables, returned dangerously wounded. He reported that one of his associates, who had gone out on the same errand, had been wounded in the head, and carried off. A shirt and hat, both pierced with spears, were afterwards found in one of the huts of the natives; but no farther intelligence could be procured. It is too probable, that the convicts had been the original aggressors, though this was strenuously denied by the person who made his escape.

On the 30th of May, two men employed in collecting rushes for thatching, were found dead. One of them had four spears in his body: the other was without any external marks of violence. These victims of their own indiscretion, had been seen with a canoe, which they had taken from one of the fishing stations. Such misfortunes were feelingly lamented by the governor, as they frustrated his plan of conciliating the affections of the natives, and establishing a friendly intercourse with them.

The tools which the rush-cutters used being carried away, the governor thought they might lead to some discovery. He therefore went out with a small party, and landed at the spot where the men were killed; but after traversing the country for twenty miles, he arrived

at Botany Bay, without so much as procuring a sight of any of the natives. Here, however, they perceived about twenty canoes engaged in fishing; and when the fires were made and preparations set about for encamping during the night, it was supposed that some of the people would have joined them; but none appeared. Next morning, though fifty canoes were drawn up on the beach, not an individual person was to be seen.

The governor had now resolved to return; but as he was proceeding along the sea-coast, he fell in with a numerous party of the inhabitants, near the mouth of a cave, and was within ten yards of them before they were perceived. The natives were armed, and one of them advancing, seemed to caution the English to retire; but when governor Phillip stepped forward to meet him alone and without weapons, he assumed a friendly confidence.

In a few minutes they were surrounded by more than two hundred men; but no signs of treachery were perceived in this interview, nor any wish to take advantage of the superiority of numbers. The moment friendship was offered, they laid down their weapons, and joined the party in the most amicable manner. Numbers of women and children were afterwards brought down by the men, and accepted such presents as were given them.

Among these people nothing was observed that could point them out as being concerned in the murder and robbery of the *rush-cutters*; and the governor had a fresh proof of the propriety of treating them with a proper degree of confidence. For had he hesitated a moment in shewing a friendly disposition, a rencounter must have ensued, and the consequences might have been fatal.

Near this place they saw a superior stream of water to any hitherto discovered.

An old man, seeing the English purposed to advance, made signs that he might be allowed to go before them. Having ascended a hill, he called out, holding up both

his hands, the usual expression of amity, to signify to his countrymen in the next cove, that friends were coming. The governor, however, did not descend to that cove, where he saw about forty men assembled. The cause of such numbers being collected was unknown; for it was calculated that they constituted a very considerable portion of the inhabitants of a great extent of coast.

In crossing the hills in their way to Port Jackson, smoke was seen on the top of Landsdown Hill, a proof that the country is inhabited so far back, which was calculated to be fifty miles from the sea.

On a farther investigation of the fate of the rush-cutters, there appeared reason to suppose that one of the natives had been murdered and several wounded, before the catastrophe took place. This belief induced the governor to offer emancipation to any convict who should discover the aggressors; but nothing farther transpired.

It has been mentioned that several of the sheep were destroyed; and they now experienced a heavier loss in two bulls and four cows straying into the woods; where they were traced to some distance, but never recovered.

His majesty's birth-day was kept with due festivity, and all were indulged with a remission from labour. At sun-rise the ships of war fired a royal salute, and at noon the marines, being drawn up, saluted with three volleys. At sun-set the same honours were repeated by the ships, and bonfires threw a lustre on the night. That every person might participate in the general joy, the four convicts, who had been banished to a small island in the centre of the harbour, received a full pardon; and it is probable, there was not a heavy heart among them in this distant part of his majesty's dominions.

On the 22d of June, they felt a slight shock of an earthquake, which lasted only two or three seconds. The governor at first took it for the report of guns fired at a great distance; but from the testimony of all, the real cause was soon discovered.

Two days after, a convict who had been guilty of a robbery, absconded; but soon after returned, as he found it impossible to subsist in the woods. He said that one of the natives gave him a fish, and made signs for him to go away; that afterwards he fell in with a party of the natives, who would have roasted him; but that he made his escape. He actually pretended to have seen a human body lying on the fire; but little credit ought to be given to such an authority.

With more semblance of truth, he reported, that the inhabitants were in great distress for food, and that he had seen four of them apparently perishing of hunger, who made signs for something to eat. This man was tried for his offence, pleaded guilty, and suffered with another criminal.

The settlers had now been long enough here to ascertain, that though the necessity of subsisting so long on salt provisions, and their exposed situation, had brought on the scurvy, yet that the climate in itself was mild and salubrious. Heavy rains had indeed fallen about the changes of the moon in the winter months; but there had been no season that could be called rainy. Violent storms of thunder and lightning sometimes happened; but as the country begins to be cleared, these will be less frequent, and the general healthiness of the place will be increased.

The variation of the thermometer in the shade, frequently amounted to 33 deg. between eight in the morning and two in the afternoon. It sometimes stood at upwards of 80.

An account of the state of the colonists' health being delivered in, on the last day of June, by the surgeon, it was found that eight marines, and eighty-one convicts and children, had died from the time of embarkation; that thirty-six of the military were under medical treatment, and sixty-six of the convicts. He farther stated, that fifty-two convicts were unfit for labour, from old age, or infirmities. Many of the sick, however, were in a convalescent state.

When they first landed, as may be well supposed, the chief care of the governor was to erect temporary accommodations, on the spot that presented itself as freest from impediments. No regularity could be expected; but the idea of convenience united to order, was soon at liberty to expand; and by degrees, large spaces were opened, lines marked, and a plan drawn out for future operations.

The lines of streets and public buildings were now traced, in such a situation as to admit of a free circulation of air, the convenience of water, and other comforts, which are requisite in a permanent settlement.

The first huts, of course, were of perishable materials, being chiefly constructed of the soft wood of the cabbage-palm, or even of posts, wattled and plaistered. Barracks and huts were afterwards formed of more durable materials. Stone buildings might easily have been raised; but the want of lime to make mortar was a great hindrance. They found stone of three different kinds: one was equal to that of Portland, a second sort was sand, or fire-stone, and the third had a mixture of iron.

No chalk or lime could be found. A small building for the governor was cemented with oyster shells burnt; but there were too few to answer any general purpose. Good clay for bricks is produced near Sydney Cove, and has been successfully used for that purpose. The wood appears not ill adapted for building; it is heavy indeed, but fine-grained, and free from knots.

Sydney Cove lies open to the north-east, and extends in a south-west direction for near one thousand yards, gradually decreasing, from the width of one thousand four hundred feet, till it terminates in a point, where it receives a small stream of fresh water. The anchorage extends a considerable way up the Cove, and is secure from all winds. Ships can lie almost close to the shore; nor are there any rocks or shallows to render the navigation dangerous. Thus the situation on the whole is as eligible as can be desired; and shews the discernment of the governor in making the selection.

Metals of various kinds appear to abound in the vicinity of the settlement; but the want of some scientific person, to describe and arrange the natural productions, both animate and inanimate, was sensibly felt at first. A convict, who had worked in the lead mines, positively affirmed, that the ground, which they had been clearing, contained a large quantity of that ore; and copper was supposed to lie under some rocks, which had been blown up in sinking a cellar.

Where they dug for water, in some places, they found substance which was taken for a metal; but after submitting it to the long-continued action of fire, it was suspected to be black lead. The pigment, called Spanish brown, is found in great abundance; and the white clay, with which the natives ornament themselves, in the opinion of the Abbé Receveur, might be formed, with some previous care, into porcelain.

Sydney Cove seems to possess every local advantage that can arise from a fine climate, a soil naturally good, and an exception from whatever can shorten the period of life, or lessen its pleasures. All the plants and fruits that had been brought from Brasil and the Cape, without damage, flourished as in their native beds. European vegetables likewise arrive at great perfection. The vine, it is probable, with due culture, may in time produce the choicest juice; and in future ages, it may perhaps be reckoned a luxury at the tables of European opulence.

The rank grass under the trees had a deleterious effect on the sheep, that were suffered to graze on it; but such as were kept close to their pens and fed there, were preserved. Hogs and poultry not only thrive, but multiply very fast; and there is no reason to apprehend but every species of domestic animals will prosper and become productive.

When matters were settled in the immediate vicinity of Sydney Cove, the governor sent a small detachment to cultivate the ground at the upper end of port Jackson, which in one of his excursions he had found so

well adapted for that purpose. This spot has obtained the appellation of Rose Hill.

After various unimportant transactions, though uniformly beneficial to the interests of the infant colony, the natives, who had always been treated with the greatest indulgence, as far as the authority of the governor could prevail, but whose entire confidence it was found impossible to gain, made an attempt to wrest by force, what certainly did not belong to them. On the 9th of July, a fishing-party of the English having drawn the seine, the natives violently seized the greatest part of the fish, while a more numerous body of them stood with their spears ready poised. The cockswain very prudently permitted them to satisfy themselves, and thus hostilities were prevented. Orders had been given to allow the natives a share of whatever might be caught when they were present; and till this time they had been apparently well satisfied with what had been voluntarily given them. Hard necessity, and the resentment they felt, for the encroachments made on their fishing station, might drive them to this desperate act. No notice was taken of the aggression; but a stronger force in future was always sent with the boat, which tended to prevent a repetition of the injury.

About the middle of July, the governor went out with a small party to examine the land between port Jackson and Broken Bay. In this quarter, many hundreds of acres were free from trees, and in a state favourable to cultivation. Proceeding as far as Pitt Water, he saw several of the natives, but none of them joined him. When the party, however, returned to the boats, they found about sixty men, women, and children, assembled there. In this society some hours were spent in a peaceful and amicable manner; but though the natives did not appear uneasy in the company of the English, they always manifested satisfaction when they were about to leave them. At this time many of the women were employed in fishing, a service they commonly perform. Two of these were observed to be

scarred or tattooed on the shoulder like the men, a circumstance not hitherto observed in any other females on this coast.

While the governor and his party were out on their excursion, the sailors, who waited to guard the boats, observed two bodies of the natives, consisting of about one hundred men each, who drew up on opposite sides, and at first seemed to be amusing themselves with their spears, which they hurled at each other by way of exercise, using their shields as a defence. In a short time, however, matters assumed a more serious aspect, and the women were seen running up and down in great distress, and shrieking violently. After all, it did not appear that any of the men were killed; and it is likely the fears of the females might misinterpret the intention of the exercise in which the men were engaged.

Soon after his return, governor Phillip set out again to explore the coast towards Botany Bay. In this journey, few of the inhabitants were seen, but many proofs were observed of the distresses they laboured under from a scarcity of food. In the summer season they shewed a dainty taste in fish, rejecting some kinds with disdain; but now a young whale, which had been driven on the coast, had been greedily devoured by them. They barely scorch the outside of their fish before they eat it; and they prepare the fern-root in a similar manner.

From various observations, it appears, that the natives frequently change their situation; but it has not been perceived that they perform periodical migrations either in summer or winter. Intent solely on procuring the means of subsistence, a task more than sufficient, at times, to employ all their ingenuity and exertion, they seem to have no local attachments, except when fish and food may be had in the greatest abundance and with the greatest ease.

The few specimens of arts they possess, are generally such, as the necessity of their situations have forced upon them. Their fishing-tackle is not without marks

of ingenuity. The twine of which their nets is made, appears to be composed of the fibres of the flax plant, with very little preparation; but twisted so as to render it firm and strong. The meshes of these nets consist of large loops, very artificially inserted into each other, but without any knots. It has been said, that they are formed on the very same principle as the ground of point lace, except that there is only one turn of the twine, instead of two in every loop. Their fish-hooks, canoes, and other implements, are not ill adapted to their respective destinations.

These people have few ornaments, except what are impressed on the body itself, or laid on by way of paint. The men keep their beards short, as is supposed, by singeing them. They sometimes hang the teeth of dogs and of other animals, in their hair, and even the claws of lobsters.

Though destitute of clothes, they are by no means insensible to the cold, and have a great dislike to rain. During a shower, they have been observed to cover their heads with bark, and to shiver extremely. The governor, from these circumstances, was led to think, that clothes would be very acceptable to them, should they ever be brought to terms of social intercourse with the English.

From the habitual shyness of the natives, governor Phillip found it difficult to acquire any perfect knowledge of their institutions and customs. It appears they burn their dead; for, on opening a kind of rude grave, a jaw-bone was found unconsumed; and on a farther investigation of these barrows, ashes were generally seen. From the manner in which these ashes were deposited, it appeared that the body must have been laid lengthways, and only raised sufficiently to allow fire to be put under it. Fern is usually spread on the surface, and pressed down by a few stones.

The New Hollanders seem to practise the virtue of honesty to the full, in their intercourse with each other. They leave their spears, implements, and canoes, on the

beach, with the most unsuspecting confidence; a proof that they have not been used to be defrauded. Some of the convicts, however, early taught them that they had now another kind of people to deal with. These frequently carried off articles belonging to the natives, in defiance of the strict regulations that were established; and to their conduct, the reserve of the inhabitants may reasonably be ascribed. It is likewise probable, that they soon learned to distinguish these free-booters by their blue and yellow jackets, as they did the soldiers by their red clothes; and on stragglers of the former description, they occasionally wreaked their vengeance.

No attempt, however, was made to fire the grass or corn, which must have brought down destruction on them. For though policy and humanity recommended the mildest conduct towards the natives, and a degree of forgiveness for slight offences, an attempt of this kind was of too serious a nature to have been overlooked, and would have justified the severest measures. Let us hope, however, that the natives of this coast, will live in peace and amity with our countrymen, and in the revolution of years, be brought to civilization and refinement, by the generous exertions and examples of Britons. Let us hope too, that the outcasts of society among ourselves, may be induced, by their conduct in a place where they are removed from the usual temptations, to endeavour to redeem their character, and regain their forfeited rights.

From the most recent accounts received from this quarter, it appears that the settlers are rapidly advancing in agriculture, and rearing of cattle, and that the colony promises not only to repay the original expence and risk, but to be ultimately beneficial and advantageous to the mother country.

From a piece of clay imported from Sydney Cove, the ingenious Mr. Wedgewood caused a medallion to be modelled, representing Hope, encouraging Art and Labour, under the influence of Peace, to pursue the means of giving security and happiness to the infant

settlement. The following exquisitely beautiful verses, in allusion to this medallion, were written by Dr. Darwin, and we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of copying them.

VISIT OF HOPE TO SYDNEY COVE.

Where Sydney Cove her lucid bosom swells,
 Courts her young navies and the storm repels,
 High on a rock, amid the troubled air,
 HOPE stood sublime, and wav'd her golden hair;
 Calm'd with her rosy smile the tossing deep,
 And with sweet accents charm'd the winds to sleep;
 To each wild plain she stretch'd her snowy hand;
 High-waving wood, and sea-encircled strand.
 "Hear me," she cried, "ye rising realms! record
 "Times opening scenes, and Truths unerring word.—
 "There shall broad streets their stately walls extend,
 "The circus widen, and the crescent bend;
 "There ray'd from cities o'er the cultur'd land,
 "Shall bright canals, and solid roads expand.—
 "There the proud arch, Colossus-like, bestride
 "Yon glittering streams, and bound the chasing tide;
 "Embellish'd villas crown the landscape scene,
 "Farms wave with gold, and orchards blush between.—
 "There shall tall spires, and dome-capt towers ascend,
 "And piers and quays their massy structures blend;
 "While with each breeze approaching vessels glide,
 "And northern treasures dance on every tide!"
 Here ceased the nymph—tumultuous echoes roar,
 And Joy's loud voice was heard from shore to shore—
 Her graceful steps descending press'd the plain,
 And PEACE, and ART, and LABOUR, join'd her train.

THE
JOURNAL
OF A
VOYAGE TO LISBON.

BY HENRY FIELDING, ESQ.*

During his last Illness.

Wednesday, June 26, 1754.

ON this day, the most melancholy sun I had ever beheld, arose, and found me awake at my house at Fordhook. By the light of this sun, I was, in my own opinion, last to behold and take leave of some of these creatures, on whom I doated with a mother-like fondness, guided by nature and passion, and incurred and unhardened by all the doctrine of that philosophical school where I had learnt to bear pains and to despise death.

In this situation, as I could not conquer nature, I submitted entirely to her, and she made as great a fool of me as she had ever done of any woman whatsoever: under pretence of giving me leave to enjoy, she drew me in to suffer the company of, my little ones, during eight hours: and I doubt not whether, in that time, I did not undergo more than in all my distemper.

At twelve precisely my coach was at the door, which was no sooner told me, than I kissed my children round, and went into it with some little resolution. My wife who behaved more like a heroine and philosopher, though at the same time the tenderest mother in the world, and my eldest daughter, followed me; some friends went with us, and others took their leave; and

* Author of Tom Jones, Joseph Andrews, &c. &c.

I heard my behaviour applauded, with many murmurs and praises, to which, I well knew, I had no title; as all other such philosophers may, if they have any modesty, confess on the like occasions.

In two hours we arrived in Rederiffe, and immediately went on board, and were to have sailed the next morning; but as this was the king's proclamation-day, and consequently a holiday at the custom-house, the captain could not clear his vessel till the Thursday; for these holidays are as strictly observed as those in the popish calendar, and are almost as numerous. I might add, that both are opposite to the genius of trade, and consequently *contra bonum publicum*.

To go on board the ship it was necessary first to go into a boat; a matter of no small difficulty, as I had no use of my limbs, and was to be carried by men; who though sufficiently strong for their burden, were, like Archimedes, puzzled to find a steady footing. Of this, as few of my readers have not gone into wherries on the Thames, they will easily be able to form to themselves an idea. However, by the assistance of my friend Mr. Welch, whom I never think or speak of but with love and esteem, I conquered this difficulty, as I did afterwards that of ascending the ship, into which I was hoisted with more ease, by a chair lifted with pulleys. I was soon seated in a great chair in the cabin, to refresh myself after a fatigue which had been more intolerable, in a quarter of a mile's passage from my coach to the ship, than I had before undergone in a land-journey of twelve miles, which I had travelled with the utmost expedition.

This latter fatigue was, perhaps, somewhat heightened by an indignation which I could not prevent arising in my mind. I think, upon my entrance into the boat, I presented a spectacle of the highest horror. The total loss of limbs was apparent to all who saw me, and my face contained marks of a most diseased state, if not of death itself. Indeed so ghastly was my countenance,

tenance, that timorous women with child had abstained from my house, for fear of the ill consequences of looking at me. In this condition I ran the gantlope, (so I think I may justly call it,) through rows of sailors and watermen, few of whom failed of paying their compliments to me, by all manner of insults and jests on my misery. No man who knew me will think I conceived any personal resentment at this behaviour: but it was a lively picture of that cruelty and inhumanity, in the nature of men, which I have often contemplated with concern; and which leads the mind into a train of very uncomfortable and melancholy thoughts. It may be said, that this barbarous custom is peculiar to the English, and of them only to the lowest degree; that it is an excrescence of an uncontroled licentiousness, mistaken for liberty, and never shows itself in men, who are polished and refined in such manner as human nature requires, to produce that perfection of what is susceptible, and to purge away that malevolence of disposition, of which, at our birth, we partake in common with the savage creation.

This may be said, and this is all that can be said; and it is, I am afraid, but little satisfactory to account for the inhumanity of those, who, while they boast of being made after God's own image, seem to bear in their minds a resemblance of the vilest species of brutes; or rather, indeed, of our idea of devils: for I don't know that any brutes can be taxed with such malevolence.

A surloin of beef was now placed on the table, for which, though little better than carrion, as much was charged by the master of the little paltry alehouse who dressed it, as would have been demanded for all the elegance of the Kim's-Arms, or any other polite tavern or eating-house; for indeed the difference between the best house and the worst is, that at the former you pay largely for luxury, at the latter for nothing.

Thursday, June 27. This morning the captain, who lay on shore at his own house, paid us a visit in

the cabin; and after having expressed his concern at the impossibility of sailing so soon as he expected, hoped we would excuse delay, which he could not foresee, but assured us he would certainly fall down the river on Saturday. This indeed was no small mortification to me; for, besides the disagreeable situation in which we then lay, in the confines of Wapping and Roderiffe, tasting a delicious mixture of the air of both these sweet places, and enjoying the concord of sweet sounds of seamen, watermen, fish-women, oyster-women, and of all the vociferous inhabitants of both shores, composing altogether a greater variety of harmony than Hogarth's imagination hath brought together in that print of his, which is enough to make a man deaf to look at; I had a more urgent cause to press our departure, which was, that the dropsy, for which I had undergone three tappings, seemed to threaten me with a fourth discharge before I should reach Lisbon, and when I should have no body on board capable of performing the operation; but I was obliged to hearken to the voice of reason, if I may use the captain's own words, and to rest myself contented. Indeed there was no alternative within my reach; but what would have cost me much too dear.

There are many evils in society, from which people of the highest rank are so entirely exempt, that they have not the least knowledge or idea of them; nor indeed of the characters which are formed by them. Such, for instance, is the conveyance of goods and passengers from one place to another. Now there is no such thing as any kind of knowledge contemptible in itself; and as the particular knowledge I here mean is entirely necessary to the well understanding and well enjoying this journal: and lastly, as in this case the most ignorant will be those very readers, whose amusement we chiefly consult, and to whom we wish to be supposed principally to write, we will here enter somewhat largely into the discussion of this matter; the rather, for that no antient or modern author (if we

can trust the catalogue of Dr. Mead's library) hath ever undertaken it; but that it seems (in the stile of Don Quixotte) a task reserved for my pen alone.

Goods and passengers are conveyed by water in divers vehicles, the principal of which being a ship, it shall suffice to mention that alone. Here the tyrant doth not derive his title, as the stage-coachman doth, from the vehicle itself, in which he stows his goods and passengers, but he is called the captain; a word of such various use, and uncertain signification, that it seems very difficult to fix any positive idea to it: if indeed there be any general meaning which may comprehend all its different uses, that of the head or chief, of any body of men, seems to be most capable of this comprehension; for whether they be a company of soldiers, a crew of sailors, or a gang of rogues, he who is at the head of them is always stiled the captain.

The captain, whose fortune it was to stow us abroad, laid a farther claim to this appellation than the bare command of a vehicle of conveyance. He had been the captain of a privateer, which he looked upon as being in the king's service; and in this capacity he had gained great honour, having distinguished his bravery in some very warm engagements, for which he had justly received public thanks; and from hence he derived a right of hoisting the military ornament of a cockade over the button of his hat, and of wearing a sword of no ordinary length.

Now, as I saw myself in danger from these unavoidable delays, and as the wind had been long nested, as it were, in the south-west, where it constantly blew hurricanes, I began with great reason to apprehend that our voyage might be long, and that my belly, which began already to be much extended, would require the water to be let out at a time when no assistance was at hand; though, indeed, the captain comforted me with assurances, that he had a pretty young fellow on board, who acted as his surgeon, as I found he likewise did as steward, cook, butler, and sailor. In short, he had as

many offices as Scrub, in the play, and went through them all with great dexterity: this of surgeon, was, perhaps, the only one in which his skill was somewhat deficient, at least that branch of tapping for the dropsy; for he very ingenuously and modestly confessed, he had never seen the operation performed, nor was possessed of that chirurgical instrument with which it is performed.

Friday, June 28. By way of prevention, therefore, I this day sent for my friend Mr. Hunter, the great surgeon and anatomist of Covent-garden; and though my belly was not yet very full and tight, let out ten quarts of water, the young sea-surgeon attending the operation, not as a performer, but as a student.

Saturday, June 30. Nothing worth notice passed till that morning, when my poor wife, after passing a night in the utmost torments of the tooth-ach, resolved to have it drawn. I dispatched, therefore, a servant into Wapping, to bring, in haste, the best tooth-drawer he could find. He soon found out a female of great eminence in the art; but when he brought her to the boat, at the water-side, they were informed that the ship was gone; for, indeed, she had set out a few minutes after his quitting her; nor did the pilot, who well knew the errand on which I had sent my servant, think fit to wait a moment for his return, or to give me any notice of his setting out.

But of all the pretty bashaws, or turbulent tyrants I ever beheld, this four-faced pilot was the worst tempered; for, during the time that he had the guidance of the ship, which was till we arrived in the Downs, he complied with no one's desires, nor did he give a civil word, or, indeed, a civil look, to any on board.

The morning was fair and bright, and we had a passage thither, I think, as pleasant as can be conceived; for, take it with all its advantages, particularly the number of fine ships you are always sure of seeing by the way, there is nothing to equal it in all the rivers of the world. The yards of Deptford and of Woolwich, are noble sights; and give us a just idea of the great per-

fection to which we are arrived in building those floating castles, and the figure which we may always make in Europe among the other maritime powers. That of Woolwich, at least, very strongly imprinted this idea on my mind; for, there was now on the stocks there the Royal Anne, supposed to be the largest ship ever built, and which contains ten carriage guns more than had ever yet equipped a first-rate.

It is true, perhaps, that there is more of ostentation than of real utility, in ships of this vast and unwieldy burthen, which are rarely capable of acting against an enemy; but if the building such contributes to preserve, among other nations, the notion of the British superiority in naval affairs, the expence, though very great, is well incurred, and the ostentation is laudable and truly political. Indeed, I should be sorry to allow that Holland, France, or Spain, possessed a vessel larger and more beautiful than the largest and most beautiful of ours; for this honour I would always administer to the pride of our sailors, who should challenge it from all their neighbours with truth and success. And sure I am, that not our honest tars alone, but every inhabitant of this Island, may exult in the comparison, when he considers the king of Great Britain, as a maritime prince, in opposition to any other prince in Europe; but I am not so certain that the same idea of superiority will result from comparing our land-forces with those of many other crowned heads. In numbers, they all far exceed us, and in the goodness and splendour of their troops, many nations, particularly the Germans and French, and perhaps the Dutch, cast us at a distance; for however we may flatter ourselves with the Edwards and Henrys of former ages, the change of the whole art of war since those days, by which the advantage of personal strength is, in a manner, entirely lost, hath produced a change in military affairs to the advantage of our enemies. As for our successes in later days, if they were not entirely owing to the superior genius of our general, they were not a little due to the

superior force of his money. Indeed, if we should arraign Marshal Saxe of ostentation, when he shewed his army, drawn up, to our captive general, the day after the battle of La Val, we cannot say that the ostentation was entirely vain; since he certainly shewed him an army, which had not been often equalled, either in the number or goodness of the troops, and which, in those respects, so far exceeded ours, that none can ever cast any reflection on the brave young prince who could not reap the laurels of conquest in that day; but his retreat will be always mentioned as an addition to his glory.

In our marine the case is entirely the reverse, and it must be our own fault if it doth not continue so; for, continue so it will, as long as the flourishing state of our trade shall support it; and this support it can never want, till our legislature shall cease to give sufficient attention to the protection of our trade, and our magistrates want sufficient power, ability, and honesty, to execute the laws: a circumstance not to be apprehended, as it cannot happen, till our senates and our benches shall be filled with the blindest ignorance, or with the blackest corruption.

Besides the ships in the docks, we saw many on the water: the yachts are sights of great parade, and the king's body yacht is, I believe, unequalled in any country for convenience as well as magnificence; both which are consulted in building and equipping her with the most exquisite art and workmanship.

We saw likewise several Indiamen just returned from their voyage. These are, I believe, the largest and finest vessels which are any where employed in commercial affairs. The colliers, likewise, which are very numerous, and even assemble in fleets, are ships of great bulk; and if we descend to those used in the American, African, and European trades, and pass through those which visit our own coasts, to the small craft that lie between Chatham and the Tower, the whole forms a most pleasing object to the eye, as well as highly warm-

ing to the heart of an Englishman, who has any degree of love for his country, or can recognize any effect of the patriot in his constitution.

Lastly, the Royal Hospital of Greenwich, which presents so delightful a front to the water, and doth such honour at once to its builder and the nation, to the great skill and ingenuity of the one, and to the no less sensible gratitude of the other, very properly closes the account of this scene; which may well appear romantic to those who have not themselves seen, that, in this one instance, truth and reality are capable, perhaps, of exceeding the power of fiction.

When we had past by Greenwich, we saw only two or three gentlemen's houses, all of very moderate account, till we reached Gravesend; these are all on the Kentish shore, which affords a much drier, wholesomer, and pleasanter situation, than doth that of its opposite, Essex. This circumstance, I own, is somewhat surprising to me, when I reflect on the numerous villas that crowd the river, from Chelsea upwards as far as Shepperton, where the narrower channel affords not half so noble a prospect, and where the continual succession of the small craft, like the frequent repetition of all things, which have nothing in them great, beautiful, or admirable, tire the eye, and give us distaste and aversion instead of pleasure. With some of these situations, such as Barnes, Mortlake, &c. even the shore of Essex might contend, not upon very unequal terms; but, on the Kentish borders, there are many spots to be chosen by the builder, which might justly claim the preference over almost the very finest of those in Middlesex and Surry.

How shall we account for this depravity in taste? For, surely, there are none so very mean and contemptible, as to bring the pleasure of seeing a number of little wherries, gliding along after one another, in competition with what we enjoy, in viewing a succession of ships, with all their sails expanded to the winds, bounding over the waves before us.

And here I cannot pass by another observation on the deplorable want of taste in our enjoyments, which we shew by almost totally neglecting the pursuit of what seems to me the highest degree of amusement: this is, the sailing ourselves in little vessels of our own, contrived only for our ease and accommodation, to which such situations of our villas, as I have recommended, would be so convenient and even necessary.

Whilst we were at dinner this day, in the cabin, on a sudden, the window on one side was beat into the room, with a crash, as if a twenty-pounder had been discharged among us. We were all alarmed at the suddenness of the accident; for which, however, we were soon able to account: for the sash, which was shivered all to pieces, was pursued into the middle of the cabin by the boltsprit of a little ship, called a cod-smack, the master of which made us amends for running (carelessly at best) against us, and injuring the ship, in the sea way; that is to say, by damning us all to hell, and uttering several pious wishes, that it had done us much more mischief. All which were answered in their own kind and phrase by our men; between whom, and the other crew, a dialogue of oaths and scurrility was carried on, as long as they continued in each other's hearing.

Monday, July 1. This day our cabin, where my wife and I were sitting together, was visited by two ruffians, whose appearance greatly corresponded with that of the sheriff's, or rather the knight marshal's bailiffs. One of these, especially, who seemed to affect a more than ordinary degree of rudeness and insolence, came in without any kind of ceremony, with a broad gold lace on his hat, which was cocked with much military fierceness on his head. An inkhorn at his button-hole, and some papers in his hand, sufficiently assured me what he was; and I asked him if he and his companion were not custom-house officers; he answered, with sufficient dignity, that they were, as an information which he seemed to conclude would strike the hearer with awe, and suppress all further inquiry; but on the contrary, I

proceeded to ask of what rank he was in the custom-house, and receiving an answer from his companion, as I remember, that the gentleman was a riding surveyor, I replied that he might be a riding surveyor, but could be no gentleman, for that none who had any title to that denomination, would break into the presence of a lady, without any apology, or even moving his hat. He then took his covering from his head, and laid it on the table, saying, he asked pardon, and blamed the mate; who should, he said, have informed him, if any persons of distinction were below. I told him, he might guess by our appearance (which, perhaps, was rather more than could be said with the strictest adherence to truth) that he was before a gentleman and lady, which should teach him to be very civil in his behaviour, though we should not happen to be of that number whom the world calls people of fashion and distinction. However, I said, that as he seemed sensible of his error, and had asked pardon, the lady would permit him to put his hat on again, if he chose it. This he refused, with some degree of surliness, and failed not to convince me, that, if I should condescend to become more gentle, he would soon grow more rude.

I now renewed a reflection, which I have often seen occasion to make, that there is nothing so incongruous in nature as any kind of power, with lowness of mind and of ability; and that there is nothing more deplorable than the want of truth, in the whimsical notion of Plato, who tells us, that " Saturn, well knowing the state of human affairs, gave us kings and rulers, not of human, but divine original: for as we make not shepherds of sheep, nor ox-herds of oxen, nor goat-herds of goats; but place some of our own kind over all, as being better and fitter to govern them, in the same manner were demons, by the Divine Love, set over us, as a race of beings of a superior order to men; and who, with great ease to themselves, might regulate our affairs, and establish peace, modesty, freedom and justice; and totally destroying all sedition, might complete the hap-

piness of the human race. So far, at least, may even now be said, with truth, that in all states which are under the government of mere man, without any divine assistance, there is nothing but labour and misery to be found. From what I have said, therefore, we may at least learn, with our utmost endeavours to imitate the Saturnian institution borrowing all assistance from our immortal part, while we pay to this the strictest obedience, we should form both our private œconomy, and public policy, from its dictates. By this dispensation of our immortal minds, we are to establish a law, and to call it by that name. But, if any government be in the hands of a single person, of the few or of the many, and such governor or governors shall abandon himself or themselves to the unbridled pursuit of the wildest pleasures or desires, unable to restrain any passion, but possessed with an insatiable bad disease; if such shall attempt to govern, and at the same time to trample on all laws, there can be no means of preservation left for the wretched people,"—*Plato de Leg. lib. 4. p. 713. c. 714. edit. Serrani.*

At length, our governor came on board: about six in the evening we weighed anchor, and fell down to the Nore, whither our passage was extremely pleasant, the evening being very delightful, the moon just past the full, and both wind and tide favourable to us.

Tuesday, July 2. This morning we again set sail, under all the advantages we had enjoyed the evening before: this day we left the shore of Essex, and coasted along Kent, passing by the pleasant island of Thanet, which is an island, and that of Sheppy, which is not an island; and about three o'clock, the wind being now fall in our teeth, we came to an anchor in the Downs, within two miles of Deal.

Wednesday, July 3. This morning I awaked at four o'clock, for my distemper seldom suffered me to sleep later. I presently got up, and had the pleasure of enjoying the sight of what I thought a tempestuous sea, for four hours before the captain was stirring; for

he loved to indulge himself in morning slumbers, which were attended with a wind-music, much more agreeable to the performers than to the hearers, especially such as have, as I had, the privilege of sitting in the orchestra. At eight o'clock the captain rose, and sent his boat on shore. I ordered my man likewise to go in it, as my distemper was not of that kind which entirely deprives us of appetite. Now, though the captain had well victualled his ship with all manner of salt provisions for the voyage, and had added great quantities of fresh stores, particularly of vegetables, at Gravesend, such as beans and peas, which had been on board only two days, and had, possibly, not been gathered above two more, I apprehended I could provide better for myself at Deal, than the ship's ordinary seemed to promise. I accordingly sent for fresh provisions of all kinds from the shore, in order to put off the evil day of starving, as long as possible. My man returned with most of the articles I sent for; and I now thought myself in a condition of living a week on my own provisions. I therefore ordered my own dinner, which I wanted nothing but a cook to dress, and a proper fire to dress it at; but those were not to be had, nor, indeed, any addition to my roast mutton, except the pleasure of the captain's company, with that of the other passengers; for my wife continued the whole day in a state of dozing; and my other females, whose sickness did not abate by the rolling of the ship at anchor, seemed more inclined to empty their stomachs than to fill them. Thus I passed the whole day (except about an hour at dinner) by myself, and the evening concluded with the captain, as the preceding one had done: one comfortable piece of news he communicated to me, which was, that he had no doubt of a prosperous wind in the morning; but as he did not divulge the reasons of this confidence, and as I saw none myself, besides the wind being directly opposite, my faith in this prophecy was not strong enough to build any great hopes upon.

Thursday, July 4. This morning, however, the

captain seemed resolved to fulfil his own predictions, whether the wind would or no; he accordingly weighed anchor, and taking the advantage of the tide, when the wind was not very boisterous, he hoisted his sails, and, as if his power had been no less absolute over Eolus than it was over Neptune, he forced the wind to blow him on in its own despatch.

But, as all men who have ever been at sea well know how weak such attempts are, and want no authorities of Scripture to prove, that the most absolute power of a captain of a ship is very contemptible in the wind's eye, so did it befall our noble commander; who having struggled with the wind three or four hours, was obliged to give over, and lost, in a few minutes, all that he had been so long a gaining; in short, we returned to our former station, and once more cast anchor in the neighbourhood of Deal.

Here, though we lay near the shore, that we might promise ourselves all the emolument which could be derived from it, we found ourselves deceived, and that we might with as much conveniency be out of the sight of land; for, except when the captain launched forth his own boat, which he did always with great reluctance, we were incapable of procuring any thing from Deal, but at a price too exorbitant, and beyond the reach even of modern luxury; the fare of a boat from Deal, which lay at two miles distance, being at least three half-crowns, and if we had been in any distress for it, as many half-guineas; for these good people consider the sea as a large common, appendant to their manor, in which when they find any of their fellow-creatures impounded, they conclude, that they have a full right of making them pay at their own discretion for their deliverance: to say the truth, whether it be that men, who live on the sea-shore, are of an amphibious kind, and do not entirely partake of human nature, or whatever else may be the reason, they are so far from taking any share in the distresses of mankind, or of being moved with any compassion for

them, that they look upon them as blessings showered down from above; and which the more they improve to their own use, the greater is their gratitude and piety. Thus at Gravesend, a sculler requires a shilling for going less way than he would row in London for three-pence; and, at Deal, a boat often brings more profit in a day, than it can produce in London in a week, or, perhaps, in a month; in both places, the owner of the boat founds his demand on the necessity and distress of one, who stands more or less in absolute want of his assistance; and with the urgency of these, always rises in the exorbitancy of his demand, without ever considering, that, from these very circumstances, the power or ease of gratifying such demand is in like proportion lessened. Now, as I am unwilling that some conclusions, which may be, I am aware, too justly drawn from these observations, should be imputed to human nature in general, I have endeavoured to account for them in a way more inconsistent with the goodness and dignity of that nature: however it be, it seems a little to reflect on the governors of such monsters, that they do not take some means to restrain these impositions, and prevent them from triumphing any longer from the miseries of those, who are, in many circumstances at least, their fellow-creatures, and considering the distresses of a wretched seaman, from his being wrecked to his being barely wind-bound, as a blessing sent among them from above, and calling it by that blasphemous name.

Friday, July 5. This day I sent a servant on board a man of war, that was stationed here, with my compliments to the captain, to represent to him the distress of the ladies, and to desire the favour of his long-boat to conduct us to Dover, at about seven miles distance.

The captain returned a verbal answer to a long letter; acquainting me, that what I desired could not be complied with, it being a favour not in his power to grant. This might be, and I supposed was true; but it is as rue, that if he was able to write, and had pen,

ink, and paper, on board, he might have sent a written answer; and that it was the part of a gentleman so to have done; but this is a character seldom maintained on the watery element, especially by those who exercise any power on it. Every commander of a vessel here seems to think himself entirely free from all those rules of decency and civility, which direct and restrain the conduct of the members of a society on shore; and each, claiming absolute dominion in his little wooden world, rules by his own laws and by his own discretion. I do not, indeed, know so pregnant an instance of the dangerous consequences of absolute power, and its aptness to intoxicate the mind, as that of those petty tyrants, who become such in a moment, from very well-disposed and social members of that communion, in which they affect no superiority, but live in an orderly state of legal subjection with their fellow-citizens.

Monday, July 8. Having past our Sunday without any thing remarkable, unless the catching a great number of whittings in the afternoon may be thought so. We now set sail on Monday at six o'clock, with a little variation of wind; but this was so very little, and the breeze itself so small, that the tide was our best, and, indeed, almost our only friend. This conducted us along the short remainder of the Kentish shore. Here we passed that cliff of Dover, which makes so tremendous a figure in Shakespeare, and which, whoever reads without being giddy, must, according to Mr. Addison's observation, have either a very good head or a very bad one; but which, whoever contracts any such ideas from sight of, must have, at least, a poetic, if not a Shakespearian genius. In truth, mountains, rivers, heroes, and gods, owe great part of their existence to the poets, and Greece and Italy do so plentifully abound in the former, because they furnished so glorious a number of the latter; who while they bestowed immortality on every little hillock and blind stream, left the noblest rivers and mountains in the world to share the same

obscurity with the eastern and western poets, in which they are celebrated.

This evening we beat the sea off Sussex, in sight of Dungeness, with much more pleasure than progress; for the weather was almost a perfect calm, and the moon, which was almost at the full, scarce suffered a single cloud to veil her from our sight.

Tuesday, Wednesday, July 9, 10. These two days we had much the same fine weather, and made much the same way; but in the evening of the latter day, a pretty fresh gale sprung up at N. N. W. which brought us by the morning in sight of the Isle of Wight.

Thursday July 11. This gale continued till towards noon; when the east end of the island bore but a little a-head of us. The captain, being unwilling to come to anchor, declared he would keep the sea; but the wind got the better of him, so that about three he gave up the victory, and, making a sudden tack, stood in for the shore, passed by Spithead and Portsmouth, and came to an anchor at a place called Ride on the Island; as did a great number of merchant ships, who attended our commodore from the Downs, and watched his motions so narrowly, that they seemed to think themselves unsafe when they did not regulate their motions by his.

A most tragical incident fell out this day at sea. While the ship was under sail, but making, as will appear, no great way, a kitten, one of four of the feline inhabitants of the cabin, fell from the window into the water: an alarm was immediately given to the captain, who was then upon deck, and received it with the utmost concern. He immediately gave orders to the steersman in favour of the poor thing, as he called it; the sails were instantly slackened, and all hands, as the phrase is, employed to recover the poor animal. I was, I own, extremely surprised at all this; less, indeed, at the captain's extreme tenderness, than at his conceiving any possibility of success; for, if puss had nine thousand, instead of nine lives, I concluded they had been all lost,

The boatswain, however, had more sanguine hopes; for, having stripped himself of his jacket, breeches, and shirt, he leaped boldly into the water, and, to my great astonishment, in a few minutes, returned to the ship, bearing the motionless animal in his mouth.

But as I have, perhaps, a little too wantonly endeavoured to raise the tender passions of my readers in this narrative, I should think myself unpardonable if I conclude it, without giving them the satisfaction of hearing that the kitten at last recovered, to the great joy of the good captain; but to the great disappointment of some of the sailors, who asserted, that the drowning a cat was the very surest way of raising a favorable wind: a supposition of which, though we have heard several plausible accounts, we will not presume to assign the true original reason.

Saturday July 13. The wind seeming likely to continue in the same corner, where it had been almost constantly for two months together, I was persuaded by my wife to go a-shore, and stay at Ride till we sailed. I approved the motion much; for, though I am a great lover of the sea, I now fancied there was more pleasure in breathing the fresh air of the land; but how to get thither was the question: for, being really that dead luggage which I considered all passengers to be in the beginning of this narrative, and incapable of any bodily motion without external impulse, it was in vain to leave the ship, or to determine to do it, without the assistance of others. In one instance, perhaps, the living luggage is more difficult to be moved, or removed, than an equal or much superior weight of dead matter; which, if of the brittle kind, may indeed be liable to be broken through negligence; but this, by proper care, may be almost certainly prevented; whereas the fractures to which the living lumps are exposed, are sometimes by no caution avoidable, and often by no art to be amended.

I was deliberating on the means of conveyance, not

so much out of the ship to the boat, as out of a little tottering boat to the land. A matter which, as I had already experienced in the Thames, was not extremely easy, when to be performed by any other limbs than your own. Whilst I weighed all that could suggest itself on this head, without strictly examining the merit of the several schemes which were advanced by the captain and sailors, and, indeed, giving no very deep attention even to my wife, who, as well as her friend and my daughter, were exerting their tender concern for my ease and safety; fortune, for I am convinced she had a hand in it, sent me a present of a buck; a present welcome enough of itself, but more welcome on account of the vessel in which it came, being a large hoy, which in some places would pass for a steeple, and many people would go some miles to see the sight. I was pretty easily conveyed on board this hoy, but to get from hence to the shore was not so easy a task; for, however strange it may appear, the water itself did not extend so far; an instance which seems to explain those lines of Ovid,

Omnia Pontus erant, deerant quoque littora Ponto,

in a less tautological sense, than hath generally been imputed to them.

In fact, between the sea and the shore, there was, at low water, an impassable gulph, if I may so call it, of deep mud, which could neither be traversed by walking or swimming; so that for near one half of the twenty-four hours, Ride was inaccessible by friend or foe. But as the magistrates of this place seemed more to desire the company of the former, than to fear that of the latter, they had begun to make a small causeway to the low-water mark, so that foot passengers might land whenever they pleased; but as this work was of a public kind, and would have cost a large sum of money, at least ten pounds, and the magistrates, that is to say,

the church-wardens, the overseers, constable and tithing-man, and the principal inhabitants, had every one of them some separate scheme of private interest to advance at the expense of the public, they fell out among themselves; and after having thrown away one half of the requisite sum, resolved at least to save the other half, and rather be contented to sit down losers themselves, than to enjoy any benefit which might bring in a greater profit to another. Thus that unanimity, which is so necessary in all public affairs, became wanting, and every man, from the fear of being a bubble to another, was, in reality, a bubble to himself.

However, as there is scarce any difficulty to which the strength of men, assisted with the cunning of art, is not equal, I was at last hoisted into a small boat; and being rowed pretty near the shore, was taken up by two sailors, who waded with me through the mud, and placed me in a chair on the land, whence they afterwards conveyed me a quarter of a mile farther, and brought me to a house, which seemed to bid the fairest for hospitality of any in Ride.

We brought with us our provisions from the ship, so that we wanted nothing but a fire to dress our dinner, and a room in which we might eat it. In neither of these had we any reason to apprehend a disappointment, our dinner consisting only of beans and bacon, and the worst apartment in his majesty's dominions being fully sufficient to answer our present ideas of delicacy.

At length we were seated in one of the most pleasant spots, I believe, in the kingdom, and were regaled with our beans and bacon, in which there was nothing deficient but the quantity.

Thus we passed a most agreeable day, owing to good appetites and good humour; two hearty feeders, which will devour with satisfaction whatever food you place before them: whereas, without these, the elegance of St. James's, the charde, the Perigord-pye, or the orto-

lan, the venison, the turtle, or the custard, may titillate the throat, but will never convey happiness to the heart, or cheerfulness to the countenance.

My wife having reconnoitred the house, reported, that there was one room in which were two beds. It was concludcd, therefore, that she and Harriot should occupy one, and myself take possession of the other. She added likewise an ingenious recommendation of this room, to one who had so long been in a cabin, which it exactly resembled, as it was sunk down with age on one side, and was in the form of a ship with gunnels to.

For my own part, I make little doubt but this apartment was an ancient temple, built with the materials of a wreck, and, probably, dedicated to Neptune, in honour of the BLESSING sent by him to the inhabitants; such blessings having, in all ages, been very common to them. The timber employed in it confirms this opinion, being such as is seldom used by any but ship-builders. I do not find, indeed, any mention of this matter in Heru; but, perhaps, its antiquity was too modern to deserve his notice. Certain it is, that this island of Wight was not an early convert to Christianity; nay, there is some reason to doubt whether it was ever entirely converted. But I have only time to touch slightly on things of this kind, which, luckily for us, we have a society whose peculiar profession it is to discuss and develope.

Monday, July 20. This day nothing remarkable passed; our landlady levied a tax of fourteen shillings for the Sunday. We regaled ourselves at dinner with venison and good claret of our own; and, in the afternoon, the women, attended by the captain, walked to see a delightful scene two miles distant, with the beauties of which they declared themselves most highly charmed, at their return, as well as with the goodness of the lady of the mansion, who had slipt out of the way, that my wife and her company might refresh them-

selves with the flowers and fruits with which her garden abounded.

Tuesday, July 21. This day, having paid our taxes of yesterday, we were permitted to regale ourselves with more venison. Some of this we would willingly have exchanged for mutton; but no such flesh was to be had nearer than Portsmouth, from whence it would have cost more to convey a joint to us, than the freight of a Portugal ham from Lisbon to London amounts to: for though the water-carriage be somewhat cheaper here than at Deal, yet can you find no waterman who will go on board his boat, unless by two or three hours rowing he can get drunk for the residue of the week.

And here I have an opportunity, which possibly may not offer again, of publishing some observations on that political economy of this nation, which, as it concerns only the regulation of the mob, is below the notice of our great men; though, on the due regulation of this order depend many emoluments which the great men themselves, or, at least, many who tread close on their heels, may enjoy, as well as some dangers which may sometime or other arise from introducing a pure state of anarchy among them. I will represent the case as it appears to me, very fairly and impartially, between the mob and their betters.

The whole mischief which infects this part of our economy, arises from the vague and uncertain use of a word called Liberty, of which, as scarce any two men with whom I have ever conversed, seem to have one and the same idea, I am inclined to doubt whether there be any simple universal notion represented by this word, or whether it conveys any clearer or more determinate idea, than some of those old Punic compositions of syllables, preserved in one of the comedies of Plautus, but at present, as I conceive, not supposed to be understood by any one.

By liberty, however, I apprehend, is commonly understood the power of doing what we please: not abso-

lutely; for then it would be inconsistent with law, by whose controul the liberty of the freest people, except only the Hottentots and wild Indians, must always be restrained.

But, indeed, however largely we extend, or however moderately we confine, the sense of the word, no politician will, I presume, contend that it is to prevade in an equal degree, and be with the same extent enjoyed by every member of society; no such polity having been ever found, unless among those vile people just before commemorated. Among the Greeks and Romans, the servile and free conditions were opposed to each other; and no man who had the misfortune to be enrolled under the former, could lay any claim to liberty, till the right was conveyed to him by that master whose slave he was, either by the means of conquest, of purchase, or of birth.

This was the state of all the free nations in the world; and this till very lately, was understood to be the case of our own.

I will not indeed say this is the case at present, the lowest class of our people having shaken off all the shackles of their superiors, and become not only as free, but even freer, than most of their superiors. I believe it cannot be doubted, though perhaps we have no recent instance of it, that the personal attendance of every man who hath 300*l.* *per annum*, in parliament, is indispensibly his duty; and that, if the citizens and burgesses of any city or borough shall chose such a one, however reluctant he appear, he may be obliged to attend, and be forcibly brought to his duty by the sergeant at arms.

Again, there are numbers of subordinate offices, some of which are of burthen, and others of expense, in the civil government: all of which, persons who are qualified are liable to have imposed on them, may be obliged to undertake and properly execute, notwithstanding any bodily labour, or even danger, to which they may subject themselves, under the penalty of fines and im-

prisonment; nay, and what may appear somewhat hard, may be compelled to satisfy the losses which are eventually incident, to that of sheriff in particular, out of their own private fortunes; and though this should prove the ruin of a family, yet the public, to whom the price is due, incurs no debt or obligation to preserve its officer harmless, let his innocence appear ever so clearly.

I purposely omit the mention of those military duties, which our old constitution laid upon its greatest members. These might, indeed, supply their posts with some other able bodied men; but, if no such could have been found, the obligation nevertheless remained, and they were compellable to serve in their own proper persons.

The only one, therefore, who is possessed of absolute liberty, is the lowest member of the society, who, if he prefers hunger or the wild product of the fields, hedges, lanes, and rivers, with the indulgence of ease and laziness, to a food a little more delicate, but purchased at the expense of labour, may lay himself under the shade; nor can be forced to take the other alternative from that which he hath, I will not affirm whether wisely or foolishly chosen.

Here I may, perhaps, be reminded of the last vagrant act, where all such persons are compellable to work for the usual and accustomed wages allowed in the place; but this is a clause little known to the justices of the peace, and least likely to be executed by those who do know it, as they know likewise, that it is formed on the ancient power of the justices to fix and settle these wages every year, making proper allowances for the scarcity and plenty of the times, the cheapness and dear-ness of the place; and that *the usual and accustomed wages*, are words without any force or meaning, when there are no such; but every man sponges and raps whatever he can get; and will haggle as long and struggle as hard to cheat his employer of two-pence in a day's labour, as an honest tradesman will to cheat his customers of the same sum in a yard of cloth or silk.

It is a great pity then that this power, or rather this practice, was not revived; but this having been so long omitted, that it is become obsolete, will be best done by a new law, in which this power, as well as the consequent power of forcing the poor to labour at a moderate and reasonable rate, should be well considered, and their execution facilitated: for gentlemen who give their time and labour gratis, and even voluntarily, to the public, have a right to expect that all their business be made as easy as possible; and to enact laws without doing this, is to fill our statute-books, much too full already, still fuller with dead letter, of no use but to the printer of the acts of parliament.

That the evil which I have here pointed at is of itself worth redressing, is, I apprehend, no subject of dispute: for why should any persons in distress be deprived of the assistance of their fellow-subjects, when they are willing amply to reward them for their labour? or, why should the lowest of the people be permitted to exact ten times the value of their work? For those exactions increase with the degrees of necessity in their object, insomuch, that on the former side many are horribly imposed upon, and that often in no trifling matters. I was very well assured, that at Deal no less than ten guineas was required, and paid by the supercargo of an Indiaman, for carrying him on board two miles from the shore, when she was just ready to sail; so that his necessity, as his pillager well understood, was absolute. Again, many others whose indignation will not submit to such plunder, are forced to refuse the assistance, though they are often great sufferers by so doing. On the latter side, the lowest of the people are encouraged in laziness and idleness; while they live by a twentieth part of the labour that ought to maintain them, which is diametrically opposite to the interest of the public; for that requires a great deal to be done, not to be paid, for a little. And moreover, they are confirmed in ha-

bits of exaction, and are taught to consider the distresses of their superiors as their own fair emolument.

Wednesday, July 22. This morning, after having been mulcted as usual, we dispatched a servant with proper acknowledgments of the lady's goodness; but confined our wants entirely to the productions of her garden. He soon returned, in company with the gardener, both richly laden with almost every particular which a garden at this most fruitful season of the year produces.

While we are regaling ourselves with these, towards the close of our dinner, we received orders from our commander, who had dined that day with some officers on board a man of war, to return instantly to the ship; for that the wind was become favourable, and he should weigh that evening. These orders were soon followed by the captain himself, who was still in the utmost hurry, though the occasion of it had long since ceased: for the wind had, indeed, a little shifted that afternoon, but was before this very quietly set down in its old quarter.

Thursday, July 23. Early in the morning the captain came to visit us, and to press us to make haste on board. "I am resolved," says he, "not to lose a moment, now the wind is coming about fair: for my own part, I never was surer of wind in all my life." I use his very words; nor will I presume to interpret or comment upon them farther, than by observing, that they were spoke in the utmost hurry.

Nothing now remained but to pay our taxes, which were indeed laid with inconceivable severity. Lodging was raised six-pence, fire in the same proportion, and even candles, which had hitherto escaped, were charged with a wantonness of imposition, from the beginning, and placed under the stile of oversight. We were raised a whole pound, whereas we had only burnt ten in five nights, and the pound consisted of twenty-four.

I must not, however, quit this place, where we had been so ill-treated, without doing it impartial justice,

and recording what may, with the strictest truth, be said in its favour.

First then, as to its situation, it is, I think, most delightful, and in the most pleasant spot in the whole island. It is true it wants the advantage of that beautiful river, which leads from Newport to Cowes: but the prospect here extending to the sea, and taking in Portsmouth, Spithead, and St. Helen's, would be more than a recompence for the loss of the Thames itself, even in the most delightful part of Berkshire or Buckinghamshire, though another Denham, or another Pope, should unite in celebrating it. For my own part, I confess myself so entirely fond of a sea-prospect, that I think nothing on the land can equal it; and if it be set off with shipping, I desire to borrow no ornament from the *terra firma*. A fleet of ships is, in my opinion, the noblest object which the art of man hath ever produced; and far beyond the power of those architects who deal in brick, in stone, or in marble.

When the late Sir Robert Walpole, one of the best of men and of ministers, used to equip us a yearly fleet at Spithead, his enemies of taste must have allowed that he, at least, treated the nation with a fine sight of their money. A much finer, indeed, than the same expense in an encampment could have produced. For what, indeed, is the best idea which the prospect of a number of huts can furnish to the mind, but of a number of men forming themselves into a society, before the art of building more substantial houses was known! This, perhaps, would be agreeable enough; but, in truth, there is a much worse idea ready to step in before it, and that is of a body of cut-throats, the supports of tyranny, the invaders of the just liberties and properties of mankind, the plunderers of the industrious, the ravishers of the chaste, the murderers of the innocent; and, in a word, the destroyers of the plenty, the peace, and the safety, of their fellow-creatures.

And what, it may be said, are these men of war,

which seem so delightful an object to our eyes! Are they not alike the support of tyranny, and oppression of innocence, carrying with them desolation and ruin wherever their masters please to send them. This is, indeed, too true; and however the ship of war may, in its bulk and equipment, exceed the honest merchantman, I heartily wish there was no necessity for it; for, though I must own the superior beauty of the object on one side, I am more pleased with the superior excellence of the idea, which I can raise in my mind on the other; while I reflect on the art and industry of mankind, engaged in the daily improvements of commerce, to the mutual benefit of all countries, and to the establishment and happiness of social life.

This pleasant village is situated on a gentle ascent from the water, whence it affords that charming prospect I have above described. Its soil is a gravel, which, assisted with its declivity, preserves it always so dry, that immediately after the most violent rain, a fine lady may walk without wetting her silken shoes. The fertility of the place is apparent from its extraordinary verdure, and it is so shaded with large and flourishing elms, that its narrow lanes are a natural grove or walk, which in the regularity of its plantation vies with the power of art, and in its wanton exuberancy greatly exceeds it.

In a field, in the ascent of this hill, about a quarter of a mile from the sea, stands a neat little chapel. It is very small, but adequate to the number of inhabitants; for the parish doth not seem to contain above thirty houses.

We left this place about eleven in the morning, and were again conveyed with more sunshine than wind a-board our ship.

Whence our captain had acquired his power of prophecy, when he promised us and himself a prosperous wind, I will not determine; it is sufficient to observe

that he was a false prophet, and that the weather-cocks continued to point as before.

He would not, however, so easily give up his skill in prediction. He persevered in asserting that the wind was changed; and, having weighed his anchor, fell down that afternoon to St. Helen's, which was at about the distance of five miles; and whither his friend, the tide, in defiance of the wind, which was most manifestly against him, softly wafted him in as many hours.

Here, about seven in the evening, before which time we could not procure it, we sat down to regale ourselves with some roasted venison, which was much better drest than we imagined it would be, and an excellent cold pasty, which my wife had made at Ride, and which we had reserved uncut to eat on board our ship.

Friday, July 24. As we passed by Spithead on the preceding evening, we saw the two regiments of soldiers who were just returned from Gibraltar and Minorca; and this day a lieutenant belonging to one of them, who was the captain's nephew, came to pay a visit to his uncle, and entertained the ladies with a description of those countries, the manners, dress, and diversions of the inhabitants of Minorca, to which he added an account of an officer's life in garrison, which, though it might be tolerable for three or four years, must, I think, be insupportable for a longer time. And I found, indeed, by his discourse, that the troops in general embarked from England to these garrisons, since they had been changed every third year, with the utmost cheerfulness; but that, before this time, they looked upon going to Gibraltar and Port Mahon, in the light of banishment, which made many of them melancholy; and some of the soldiers, it is said, had such a strong desire of revisiting their native country, that they absolutely pined away, which I am much inclined to believe; for a brother of mine, who was at Minorca about fourteen years ago, informed me that he came to England in the same ship with a soldier

who shot himself through the hand, merely that he might be sent home, having been in that island for many years. But now the north wind, dearer to our captain even than the company of his nephew, for whom he expressed the highest regard, sprung suddenly up, and called aloud to him to weigh his anchor. While this ceremony was performing, the sea-captain ordered out his boat to row the land-captain to shore.

It appeared now, that the captain had been only mistaken in the date of his prediction, by placing the event a day earlier than it happened; for the wind which now arose, was not only favourable but brisk, and was no sooner in reach of our sails, than it swept us away by the back of the Isle of Wight, and having, in the night, carried us by Christchurch and Peveral-point, brought us the next noon, *Saturday, July 29*, off the island of Portland, so famous for the smallness and sweetness of its mutton, of which a leg seldom weighs four pounds. We would have bought a sheep, but our captain would not permit it; for I must do him the justice to say, that whether the wind was fair or foul, he always made the most of it, for he never let go his anchor but with a manifest concern, and was generally out of humour for an hour or two upon these occasions, though he needed not have been in such a hurry, for presently the wind, I will not positively assert in resentment of his boldness, shewed him a dog's trick, and slyly slipt back again to his summer-house in the south-west.

The captain now grew outrageous, and declaring open war with the wind, took a resolution, rather more bold than wise, of sailing in defiance of it, and in its teeth. He declared he would let go his anchor no more, but would beat the sea while he had either yard or sail left. He accordingly stood from the shore, and made so large a tack, that before night, though he seemed to advance but little on his way, he was got out of sight of land.

Towards the evening, the wind began, in the captain's own language, to freshen; and indeed it freshened so much, that before ten it blew a perfect hurricane. The captain having got, as he supposed, to a safe distance, tacked again towards the English shore; and now the wind veered a point only in his favour, and continued to blow with such violence, that the ship ran above eight knots or miles an hour, during this whole day and tempestuous night, till bed-time. I was obliged to betake myself once more to my solitude; for my women were again all down in their sea-sickness, and the captain was busy on deck.

Sunday, July 26. Things now began to put on an aspect very different from what they had lately worn: the news that the ship had almost lost its mizen, and that we had procured very fine clouted cream and fresh bread and butter from the shore, restored health and spirits to our women, and we all sat down to a very cheerful breakfast.

But however pleasant our stay promised to be here, we were all desirous it should be short: I resolved immediately to dispatch my man into the country, to purchase a present of cyder for my friends, of that which is called Southam, as well as to take with me a hogshead of it to Lisbon; for it is, in my opinion, much more delicious than that which is the growth of Herefordshire. I purchased three hogsheads for five pounds ten shillings, all which I should have scarce thought worth mentioning, had I not believed it might be of equal service to the honest farmer who sold it me, and who is by the neighbouring gentlemen reputed to deal in the very best, and to the reader, who from ignorance of the means of providing better for himself, wallows at a dearer rate the juice of Middlesex turp, instead of that *Vinum Pomonæ* which Mr. Giles Leverance, of Cheeshurst, near Dartmouth, in Devon, will, at the price of forty shillings per hogshead, send in double casks to any part of the world. Had the

wind been very sudden in shifting, I had lost my cyder, by an attempt of a boatman to exact, according to custom. He required five shillings for conveying my man a mile and a half to the shore, and four more if he staid to bring him back. This I thought to be such insufferable impudence, that I ordered him to be immediately chased from the ship, without any answer. Indeed, there are few inconveniences that I would not rather encounter, than encourage the insolent demands of these wretches, at the expense of my own indignation, of which I own they are not the only objects, but rather those who purchase a paltry convenience by encouraging them. But of this I have already spoken very largely. I shall conclude, therefore, with the leave which this fellow took of our ship, saying, he should know it again, and would not put off from the shore to relieve it in any distress whatever.

It will, doubtless, surprise many of my readers to hear, that when we lay at anchor within a mile or two of a town, several days together, and even in the most temperate weather, we should frequently want fresh provisions and herbage, and other emoluments of the shore, as much as if we had been an hundred leagues from land. And this too, while numbers of boats were in our sight, whose owners get their livelihood by rowing people up and down, and could be at any time summoned by a signal to our assistance, and while the captain had a little boat of his own, with men always ready to row it at his command.

This, however, hath been partly accounted for already, by the imposing disposition of the people; who asked so much more than the proper price of their labour. And as to the usefulness of the captain's boat it requires to be a little expatiated upon, as it will tend to lay open some of the grievances which demand the utmost regard of our legislature, as they affect the most valuable part of the king's subjects, those by

whom the commerce of the nation is carried into execution.

For my own part, however whimsical it may appear, I confess, I have thought the strange story of Circe in the *Odyssey*, no other than an ingenious allegory, in which Homer intended to convey to his countrymen the same kind of instruction, which we intend to communicate to our own in this digression. As teaching the art of war to the Greeks, was the plain design of the *Iliad*, so was teaching them the art of navigation the no less manifest intention of the *Odyssey*. For the improvement of this, their situation was most excellently adapted; and accordingly we find Thucydides, in the beginning of his history, considers the Greeks as a set of pirates, or privateers, plundering each other by sea. This being, probably, the first institution of commerce before the *Ars Cauponaria* was invented, and merchants, instead of robbing, began to cheat and outwit each other, and by degrees changed the *Metab-etic*, the only kind of traffic allowed by Aristotle in his *Politics*, into the *Chrematistic*.

By this allegory, then, I suppose, Ulysses to have been the captain of a merchant-ship, and Circe, some good ale-wife, who made his crew drunk with the spirituous liquors of those days. With this the transformation into swine, as well as all other incidents of the fable, will notably agree; and thus a key will be found out for unlocking the whole mystery, and forging, at least, some meaning to a story which, at present, appears very strange and absurd.

Hence, moreover, will appear the very near resemblance between the sea-faring men of all ages and nations; and here perhaps may be established the truth and justice of that observation, which will occur oftener than once in this voyage, that all human flesh is not the same flesh, but that there is one kind of flesh of landmen, and another of seamen.

Monday. This day our captain went ashore, to

dine with a gentleman, who lives in these parts, and who so exactly resembles the character given by Homer of Axylus, that the only difference I can trace between them is, the one living by the highway, erected his hospitality chiefly in favor of land travellers; and the other living by the water-side, gratifies his humanity by accommodating the wants of the mariner.

In the evening our commander received a visit from a brother captain, who lay wind-bound in the same harbour. This latter captain was a Swiss. He was then master of a vessel bound to Guinea, and had formerly been a privateering, when our own hero was employed in the same laudable service. The honesty and freedom of the Switzer, his vivacity, in which he was in no respect inferior to his near neighbours the French, the awkward and affected politeness, which was likewise of French extraction, mixed with the brutal roughness of the English tar (for he had served under the colours of this nation, and his crew had been of the same) made such an odd variety, such a hotch-potch of character, that I should have been much diverted with him, had not his voice, which was as loud as a speaking trumpet, unfortunately made my head ach. The noise which he conveyed into the ears of his brother captain, who sat on one side of him, the soft addresses, with which, mixed with awkward bows, he saluted the ladies on the other, were so agreeably contrasted, that a man must not only have been void of all taste of humour, and insensible of mirth, but duller than Cibber is represented in the *Dunciad*, who could be unentertained with him for a little while: for, I confess, such entertainments should always be very short, as they are very liable to pall. But he suffered not this to happen at present; for having given us his company a quarter of an hour only, he retired, after many apologies for the shortness of his visit.

Tuesday. The wind being less boisterous than it had

hitherto been since our arrival here, several fishing boats, which the tempestous weather yesterday had prevented from working, came on board us with fish. This was so fresh, so good in kind, and so very cheap, that we supplied ourselves with great numbers, among which were very large soals at four-pence a pair, and whittings, of almost a preposterous size, at nine-pence a score.

The only fish which bore any price was a John Doree, as it is called. I bought one of at least four pounds weight for as many shillings. It resembles a turbot in shape, but exceeds it in firmness and flavour. The price had the appearance of being considerable, when opposed to the extraordinary cheapness of others of value; but was, in truth, so very reasonable, when estimated by its goodness, that it left me under no other surprise, than how the gentlemen of this country, not greatly eminent for the delicacy of their taste, had discovered the preference of the doree to all other fish; but that I was informed that Mr. Quin, whose distinguished tooth had been so justly celebrated, had lately visited Plymouth, and had done those honours to the doree, which are so justly due to it from that sect of modern philosophers, who, with Sir Epicure Mammon, or Sir Epicure Quin, their heads seem more to delight in a fish-pond than in a garden, as the old Epicureans are said to have done.

Unfortunately for the fishmongers of London, the doree resides only in those seas; for could any of this company but convey one to the temple of luxury under the Piazza, where M—n, the high priest, daily serves up his rich offerings to that goddess, great would be the reward of that fishmonger in blessings poured down upon him from the goddess; as great would his merit be towards the high priest, who could never be thought to over-rate such valuable incense.

And here having mentioned the extreme cheapness of fish in the Devonshire sea, and given some little hint

of the extreme dearness with which this commodity is dispensed by those who deal in it in London, I cannot pass on without throwing forth an observation or two, with the same view with which I have scattered my several remarks through this voyage, sufficiently satisfied in having finished my life, as I have, probably lost it, in the service of my country, from the best of motives, though it should be attended with the worst of success. Ends are always in our power; means are very seldom so.

Of all the animal food with which man is furnished, there are none so plenty as fish. A little rivulet, that glides almost unperceived through a vast tract of rich land, will support more hundreds with the flesh of its inhabitants, than the meadow will nourish individuals. But if this be true of rivers, it is much truer of the sea shores, which abound with such immense variety of fish, that the curious fisherman, after he hath made his draught, often culls only the daintiest part, and leaves the rest of his prey to perish on the shore.

If this be true, it would appear, I think, that there is nothing which might be had in such abundance, and consequently so cheap, as fish, of which nature seems to have provided such inexhaustible stores with some peculiar design. In the production of terrestrial animals, she proceeds with such slowness, that in the larger kind, a single female seldom produces more than one a year, and this again requires three, four, or five years more to bring it to perfection. And though the lesser quadrupeds, those of the wild kind particularly, with the birds, do multiply much faster, yet can none of these bear any proportion with the aquatic animals, of whom every female matrix is furnished with an annual offspring, almost exceeding the power of numbers, and which, in many instances at least, a single year is capable of bringing to some degree of maturity.

What then ought, in general, to be so plentiful, what so cheap as fish? What then so properly the food of

the poor? So in many places they are, and so might they always be in great cities, which are always situated near the sea, or on the conflux of large rivers. How comes it then, to look no farther abroad for instances, that in our city of London, the case is so far otherwise, that, except that of sprats, there is not one poor palate in a hundred that knows the taste of fish.

It is true, indeed, that this taste is generally of such excellent flavour, that it exceeds the power of French cookery to treat the palates of the rich with any thing more exquisitely delicate; so that was fish the common food of the poor, it might put them too much upon an equality with their betters, in the great article of eating, in which, at present, in the opinion of some, the great difference in happiness between man and man consists. But this argument I shall treat with the utmost disdain: for if ortolans were as big as bustards, and at the same time as plenty as sparrows, I should hold it yet reasonable to indulge the poor with the dainty, and that for this cause especially, that the rich would soon find a sparrow, if as scarce as an ortolan, to be much the greater, as it would certainly be the rarer dainty of the two.

Wednesday the 20th. This morning the captain drest himself in scarlet, in order to pay a visit to a Devonshire 'squire, to whom a captain of a ship is a guest of no ordinary consequence, as he is a stranger and a gentleman, who hath seen a great deal of the world in foreign parts, and knows all the news of the times.

Thursday. As the wind did not yesterday discover any purpose of shifting, and the water in my belly grew troublesome, and rendered me short breathed; I began a second time to have apprehensions of wanting the assistance of a trochar, when none was to be found: I therefore concluded to be tapped again, by way of precaution; and accordingly I this morning summoned on board a surgeon from a neighbouring parish, one whom the captain greatly recommended, and who did

son of the adage, and it may open a field of very curious discoveries to the antiquarian.

It was now our fortune to set out *melioribus avibus*. The wind freshened so briskly in our poop, that the shore appeared to move from us, as fast as we did from the shore. The captain declared he was sure of a wind, meaning its continuance; but he had disappointed us so often, that he had lost all credit. However, he kept his word a little better now, and we lost sight of our native land, as joyfully, at least, as it is usual to regain it.

Sunday. The next morning, the captain told me he thought himself thirty miles to the westward of Plymouth, and before evening declared that the Lizard point, which is the extremity of Cornwall, bore several leagues to leeward. Nothing remarkable past this day, except the captain's devotion, who, in his own phrase, summoned all hands to prayers, which were read by a common sailor upon deck, with more devout force and address, than they are commonly read by a country curate, and received with more decency and attention by the sailors than are usually preserved in city congregations. I am, indeed, assured, that if any such affected disregard of the solemn office in which they were engaged, as I have seen practised by fine gentlemen and ladies, expressing a kind of apprehension lest they should be suspected of being really in earnest in their devotion, had been shewn here, they would have contracted the contempt of the whole audience. To say the truth, from what I observed in the behaviour of the sailors in this voyage, and on comparing it with what I have formerly seen of them at sea and on shore, I am convinced that on land there is nothing more idle and dissolute; in their own element, there are no persons near the level of their degree, who live in the constant practice of half so many good qualities. They are, for much the greater part, perfect masters of their business, and always extremely alert, and ready in

excusing it, without any regard to fatigue or hazard. The soldiers themselves are not better disciplined, nor more obedient to orders than these whilst abroad; they submit to every difficulty which attends their calling with cheerfulness, and no less virtues than patience and fortitude are exercised by them every day of their lives.

All these good qualities, however, they always leave behind them on ship-board: the sailor out of water is, indeed, as wretched an animal as the fish out of water; for, though the former hath in common with amphibious animals the bare power of existing on the land, yet if he kept there any time, he never fails to become a nuisance.

The ship having had a good deal of motion since she was last under sail, our women returned to their sickness and I to my solitude, having, for twenty-four hours together, scarce opened my lips to a single person. This circumstance of being shut up within the circumference of a few yards, with a score of human creatures, with not one of whom it was possible to converse, was perhaps so rare, as scarce ever to have happened before, nor could it ever happen to one who disliked it more than myself, or to myself at a season when I wanted more food for my social disposition, or could converse less wholesomely and happily with my own thoughts. To this accident, which fortune opened to me in the Downs, was owing the first serious thought which I ever entertained of enrolling myself among the voyage-writers; some of the most amusing pages, if indeed there be any which deserve that name, were possibly the production of the most disagreeable hours which ever haunted the author.

Monday. At noon the captain took an observation, by which it appeared that Ushant bore some leagues northward of us, and that we were just entering the Bay of Biscay. We had advanced a very few miles in this bay before we were entirely becalmed; we furl-ed our sails, as being of no use to us, while we lay in

this most disagreeable situation, more detested by the sailors than the most violent tempest: we were alarmed with the loss of a fine piece of salt beef, which had been hung in the sea to freshen it; this being, it seems, the strange property of salt water. The thief was immediately suspected, and presently afterwards taken by the sailors. He was indeed no other than a huge shark, who, not knowing when he was well off, swallowed another piece of beef, together with a great iron crook on which it was hung, and by which he was dragged into the ship.

I should scarce have mentioned the catching this shark, though so exactly conformable to the rules and practice of voyage-writing, had it not been for a strange circumstance that attended it. This was the recovery of the stolen beef out of the shark's maw, where it lay unchewed and undigested, and whence, being conveyed into the pot, the flesh, and the thief that had stolen it, joined together in furnishing variety to the ship's crew.

During this calm we likewise found the mast of a large vessel, which the captain thought had lain at least three years in the sea. It was stuck all over with a little shell-fish or reptile called a barnacle, and which, probably, are the prey of the rock-fish, as our captain calls it, asserting that it is the finest fish in the world; for which we are obliged to confide entirely in his taste; for, though he struck the fish with a kind of harping iron, and wounded him, I am convinced, to death, yet he could not possess himself of his body; but the poor wretch escaped to linger out a few hours, with probably great torments.

In the evening our wind returned, and so briskly, that we ran upwards of twenty leagues before the next day's [*Tuesday's*] Observation, which brought us to lat. 47 deg. 42 min. The captain promised us a very speedy passage through the bay; but he deceived us, or the wind deceived him, for it so slackened at sun-set, that it scarce carried us a mile in an hour during the whole succeeding night.

Wednesday. A gale struck up a little after sun-rising, which carried us between three or four knots or miles an hour. We were this day at noon about the middle of the Bay of Biscay, when the wind once more deserted us, and we were so entirely becalmed, that we did not advance a mile in many hours. My fresh-water reader will perhaps conceive no unpleasant idea from this calm; but it affected us much more than a storm could have done; for as the irascible passions of men are apt to swell with indignation long after the injury which first raised them is over, so fared it with the sea. It rose mountains high, and lifted our poor ship up and down, backwards and forwards, with so violent an emotion, that there was scarce a man in the ship better able to stand than myself. Every utensil in our cabin rolled up and down as we should have rolled ourselves, had not our chairs been fast lashed to the floor. In this situation, with our tables likewise fastened by ropes, the captain and myself took our meal with some difficulty, and swallowed a little of our broth, for we spilt much the greater part. The remainder of our dinner being an old lean, tame, duck, roasted, I regretted but little the loss of my teeth not being good enough to have chewed it.

Our women, who began to creep out of their holes in the morning, retired again within the cabin to their beds, and were no more heard of this day, in which my whole comfort was to find, by the captain's relation, that the swelling was sometimes much worse; he did, indeed, take this occasion to be more communicative than ever, and informed me of such misadventures that had befallen him within forty-six years at sea, as might frighten a very bold spirit from undertaking even the shortest voyage. Were these, indeed, but universally known, our matrons of quality would possibly be deterred from venturing their tender offspring at sea; by which means our navy would lose the honour of many a young commodore, who at twenty-two is better versed

in maritime affairs than real seamen are made by experience at sixty.

And this may, perhaps, appear the more extraordinary, as the education of both seems to be pretty much the same; neither of them having had their courage tried by Virgil's description of a storm, in which, inspired as he was, I doubt whether our captain doth not exceed him.

In the evening the wind, which continued in the N. W. again freshened, and that so briskly that Cape Finisterre appeared by this day's observation to bear a few miles to the southward. We now, indeed, sailed or rather flew, near ten knots an hour; and the captain, in the redundancy of good humour, declared he would go to church at Lisbon on Sunday next, for that he was sure of a wind; and indeed we all firmly believed him. But the event again contradicted him; for we were again visited by a calm in the evening.

But here, though our voyage was retarded, we were entertained with a scene which as no one can behold without going to sea, so no one can form an idea of any thing equal to it on shore. We were seated on the deck, women and all, in the serenest evening that can be imagined. Not a single cloud presented itself to our view, and the sun himself was the only object which engrossed our whole attention. He did, indeed, set with a majesty which is incapable of description, with which, while the horizon was yet blazing with glory, our eyes were called off to the opposite part to survey the moon, which was then at full, and which in rising presented us with the second object that this world hath offered to our vision. Compared to these the pageantry of theatres, or splendour of courts, are sights almost below the regard of children.

We did not return from the deck till late in the evening: the weather being inexpressibly pleasant, and so warm, that even my old distemper perceived the alteration of the climate. There was, indeed, a swell,

but nothing comparable to what we had felt before, and it affected us on the deck much less than in the cabin.

Friday. The calm continued till sun-rising, when the wind likewise arose; but, unluckily for us it came from a wrong quarter: it was S. S. E. which is that very wind which Juno would have solicited of Æolus, had Æneas been, in our latitude, bound for Lisbon.

The captain now put on his melancholy aspect, and resumed his former opinion, that he was bewitched. He declared, with great solemnity, that this was worse and worse, for that a wind directly in his teeth was worse than no wind at all. Had we pursued the course which the wind persuaded us to take, we had gone directly for Newfoundland, if we had not fallen in with Ireland in our way. Two ways remained to avoid this; one was to put into a port of Galicia; the other, to beat to the westward with as little sail as possible; and this was our captain's election.

As for us poor passengers, any port would have been welcome to us; especially, as not only our fresh provisions, except a great number of old ducks and fowls, but even our bread was come to an end, and nothing but sea biscuit remained, which I could not chew. So that now, for the first time in my life, I saw what it was to want a bit of bread.

The wind, however, was not so unkind as we had apprehended; but having declined with the sun, it changed at the approach of the moon, and became again favourable to us; though so gentle, that the next day's observation carried us very little to the southward of Cape Finisterre. This evening, at six, the wind, which had been very quiet all day, rose very high, and continuing in our favour, drove us seven knots an hour.

This day we saw a sail, the only one, as I heard of, we had seen in our whole passage through the bay. I mention this on account of what appeared to me somewhat extraordinary. Though she was at such a distance

that I could only perceive she was a ship, the sailors discovered she was a snow bound to a port in Galicia.

Sunday. After prayers, which our good captain read with an audible voice, and with but one mistake, of a *lion*, for *Elias*, in the second lesson for this day, we found ourselves far advanced in 42 degrees, and the captain declared he should sup of Porte. We had not much wind this day; but as this was directly in our favour, we made it up with sail of which we crowded all we had. We went only at the rate of four miles an hour, but with so uneasy a motion, continually rolling from side to side, that I suffered more than I had done in our whole voyage; my bowels being almost twisted out of my belly. However, the day was very serene and bright, and the captain, who was in high spirits, affirmed he had never passed a pleasanter at sea.

The wind continued so brisk that we ran upward of six knots an hour the whole night.

Monday. In the morning, our captain concluded that he was got into lat. 40 deg. and was very little short of the *Burlins*, as they are called in the charts. We came up with them at five in the afternoon, being the first land we had distinctly seen since we left Devonshire. They consist of abundance of little rocky islands, a little distant from the shore, three of them only shewing themselves above the water.

Here the Portuguese maintain a kind of garrison, if we may allow it that name. It consists of malefactors, who are banished hither for a term of divers small offences. A policy which they may have copied from the Egyptians, as we may read in *Diodorus Siculus*. That wise people, to prevent the corruption of good manners by evil communication, built a town on the Red Sea, whither they transported a great number of their criminals, having first set an indelible mark on them, to prevent their returning, and mixing with the sober part of their citizens.

These rocks lie about fifteen leagues north-west of

Cape Roxent; or, as it is commonly called, the Rock of Lisbon; which we past early the next morning. The wind, indeed, would have carried us thither sooner, but the captain was not in a hurry. This is a very high mountain, situated on the northern side of the mouth of the river Tajo, which rising above Madrid, in Spain, and soon becoming navigable for small craft, empties itself, after a long course, into the sea, about four leagues below Lisbon.

On the summit of the rock stands a hermitage, which is now in the possession of an Englishman, who was formerly master of a vessel trading to Lisbon; and, having changed his religion and his manners, the latter of which, at least, were none of the best, betook himself to this place, in order to do penance for his sins. He is now very old, and hath inhabited this hermitage for a great number of years, during which he hath received some countenance from the royal family; and, particularly from the present queen dowager, whose piety refuses no trouble or expense by which she may make a proselyte; being used to say that the saving one soul would repay all the endeavours of her life.

Here we waited for the tide, and had the pleasure of surveying the face of the country, the soil of which, at this season, exactly resembles an old brick-kiln, or a field where the green-sward is pared up and set a burning, or rather a smoaking, in little heaps, to manure the land. This sight will, perhaps, of all others, make an Englishman proud of, and pleased with, his own country, which in verdure excels, I believe, every other country. Another deficiency here, is, the want of large trees, nothing above a shrub being here to be discovered in the circumference of many miles.

At this place we took a pilot on board, who, being the first Portuguese we spoke to, gave us an instance of that religious observance which is paid by all nations to their laws: for, whereas it is here a capital offence to assist any person in going on shore from a

foreign vessel, before it hath been examined, and every person in it viewed by the magistrates of health as they are called, this worthy pilot, for a very smaller reward, rowed the Portuguese priest to shore at this place, beyond which he did not dare to advance; and, in venturing, whither he had given sufficient testimony of love for his native country.

We did not enter the Tajo till noon, when after passing several old castles, and other buildings, which had greatly the aspect of ruins, we came to the castle of Belleisle, where we had a full prospect of Lisbon, and were indeed within three miles of it.

Here we were saluted with a gun, which was a signal to pass no farther, till we had complied with certain ceremonies, which the laws of this country require to be observed by all ships which arrive in this port. We were obliged then to cast anchor, and expect the arrival of the officers of the customs, without whose passport no ship must proceed farther than this place.

Here likewise we received a visit from one of those magistrates of health before-mentioned. He refused to come on board the ship, till every person in her had been drawn up on deck, and personally viewed by him. This occasioned some delay on my part, as it was not the work of a minute to lift me from the cabin to the deck. The captain thought my particular case might have been excused from this ceremony; and that it would be abundantly sufficient if the magistrate, who was obliged afterwards to visit the cabin, surveyed me there. But this did not satisfy the magistrate's strict regard to his duty. When he was told of my lameness, he called out with a voice of authority, 'Let him be brought up,' and his orders were presently complied with. He was indeed a person of great dignity, as well as of most exact fidelity in the discharge of his trust. Both which are the more admirable, as his salary is less than 30*l.* English per annum.

Before a ship hath been visited by one of those

magistrates, no person can lawfully go on board her; nor can any on board her depart from her. This I saw exemplified in a remarkable instance. The young lad, whom I have mentioned as one of our passengers, was here met by his father, who, on the first news of the captain's arrival, came from Lisbon to Belleisle in a boat, being eager to embrace a son whom he had not seen for many years. But when he came along-side our ship, neither did the father dare ascend, nor the son descend, as the magistrate of health had not been yet on board.

Some of my readers will, perhaps, admire the great caution of this policy, so nicely calculated for the preservation of this country from all pestilential distempers. Others will as probably regard it as too exact and formal to be constantly persisted in, in seasons of the utmost safety, as well as in times of danger. I will not decide either way; but will content myself with observing, that I never yet saw or heard of a place where a traveller had so much trouble given him at his landing as here. The only use of which, as all such matters begin and end in form only, is to put it into the power of low and mean fellows to be either rudely officious, or grossly corrupt, as they shall see occasion to prefer the gratification of their pride or of their avarice.

Of this kind, likewise, is that power which is lodged with other officers here, of taking away every grain of snuff, and every leaf of tobacco, brought either from other countries, though only for the temporary use of the person, during his residence here. This is executed with great insolence, and as it is in the hands of the dregs of the people, very scandalously: for, under pretence of searching for tobacco and snuff, they are sure to steal whatever they can find, insomuch that when they came on board, our sailors addressed us in the Covent-Garden language, 'Pray, gentlemen and ladies, take care of your swords and watches.' Indeed I never

yet saw any thing equal to the contempt and hatred which our honest tars every moment expressed for these Portuguese officers.

At Belleisle lies buried Catharine of Arragon, widow of Prince Arthur, eldest son of our Henry VII. afterwards married to, and divorced from, Henry VIII. Close by the church, where her remains are deposited, is a large convent of Geronymites, one of the most beautiful piles of building in all Portugal.

In the night, at twelve, our ship having received previous visits from all the necessary parties, took the advantage of the tide, and having sailed up to Lisbon, cast anchor there in a calm, and a moon-shiny night, which made the passage incredibly pleasant to the women, who remained three hours enjoying it, whilst I was left to the cooler transports of enjoying their pleasures at second hand; and yet, cooler as they may be, whoever is totally ignorant of such sensation, is, at the same time, void of all ideas of friendship.

Wednesday. Lisbon, be which we now lay at anchor, is said to be built on the number of hills with old Rome; but these do not bear to the water; on the contrary, one sees from the vast high hill and rock, with buildings arising on another, and that in so steep and almost perpendicular a manner, that they all seem to have but one foundation.

As the houses, convents, churches, &c. are large, and all built with white stone, they look very beautiful at a distance; but as you approach nearer, and find them to want every kind of ornament, all idea of beauty vanishes at once. While I was surveying the prospect of this city, which bears so little resemblance to any other that I have ever seen, a reflection occurred to me, that if a man was suddenly to be removed from Palmyra thither, and should take a view of no other city, in how glorious a light would the antient architecture appear to him! and what desolation and destruc-

tion of arts and sciences would he conclude had happened between the several æras of these cities!

I had now waited full three hours upon deck, for the return of my man, whom I had sent to bespeak a good dinner (a thing which had been long unknown to me) on shore, and then to bring a Lisbon chaise with him to the sea-shore; but, it seems, the impertinence of the providore was not yet brought to a conclusion. At three o'clock, when I was from emptiness rather faint than hungry, my man returned, and told me, there was a new law lately made, that no passenger should set his foot on shore without a special order from the providore; and that he himself would have been sent to prison for disobeying it, had he not been protected as the servant of the captain. He informed me likewise, that the captain had been very industrious to get this order, but that it was then the providore's hour of sleep, a time when no man, except the king himself, durst disturb him.

To avoid prolixity, though in a part of my narrative which may be more agreeable to my reader than it was to me, the providore having at last finished his nap, dispatched this absurd matter of form, and gave me leave to come, or rather to be carried on shore.

What it was that gave the first hint of this strange law is not easy to guess. Possibly, in the fancy of their defection, and before their government could be well established, they were willing to guard against the bare possibility of surprise, of the success of which bare possibility the Trojan horse will remain for ever on record, as a great and memorable example. Now the Portuguese have no walls to secure them, and a vessel of two or three hundred tons will contain a much larger body of troops than could be concealed in that famous machine, though Virgil tells us (somewhat hyperbolically, I believe) that it was as big as a mountain.

About seven in the evening I got into a chaise on

shore, and was driven through the nastiest city in the world, though at the same time one of the most populous, to a kind of coffee-house, which is very pleasantly situated on the brow of a hill, about a mile from the city, and hath a very fine prospect of the river Tajo from Lisbon to the sea.

Here we regaled ourselves with a good supper, for which we were as well charged, as if the bill had been made on the Bath road, between Newbury and London.

And now we could joyfully say,

Egressi optata Troes potiuntur arena.

Therefore, in the words of Horace,

—————*hic finis chartæque viaque,*

VOYAGES

TO THE

INDIAN SEAS AND JAPAN,

Between the Years 1770 and 1779,

BY

CHARLES PETER THUNBERG.

OF all the eminent men whom the great Linnæus formed by his precept, and animated by his example, no one has rendered himself more illustrious than Thunberg. After spending nine years at the University of Upsal, and having passed the usual examinations for a doctor of physic's degree, he obtained from the Academical Consistory the Konrean pension for travelling, which, in the space of three years, amounts to three thousand eight hundred copper dollars, or about forty-five pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence sterling; and with his own little stock, this enabled him to undertake a journey to Paris, with a view to his farther improvement in medicine, surgery, and natural history.

His merit and acquisitions, his desire of travelling, and his want of patronage, being blazoned in Holland, raised him some powerful protectors, and under their sanction, he made a voyage to the Cape, where he continued for some time; and afterwards to Java and Japan. His account of the latter empire is peculiarly interesting, as it relates to a country so little known; so different in almost every respect from the customs and institutions of Europe. Of all nations on the face of the globe, the Japanese are the most singular. Here, indeed, as in other countries, are found both useful and

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pernicious establishments; yet we cannot help admiring the steadiness which constitutes the national character; the immutability of their laws; and the unwearied assiduity of the people to do and promote whatever is useful. Nor are their attachment to their country, and their jealousy of strangers, the uniformity of their institutions, and the impartiality of their government, less worthy of wonder and admiration.

Hence then the descriptions of Thunberg must at once be often novel and interesting, when he enters on the subject of Japan, and, therefore, we shall make it a distinct head of his travels; while those which he antecedently performed, as having been over a beaten track, may be treated of more lightly and generally.

The talents and industry, however, of Thunberg, were conspicuous in every situation. Even where his researches had frequently been anticipated by others, his intimate acquaintance with botany, and the other branches of natural history, give a value to his remarks and discoveries; and shew how well he was qualified to tread in a path which had either been overlooked, or inadequately pursued. During the space of nine years, which he spent in foreign countries, he brought much fresh matter to light from the exhaustless mine of Nature. He described and arranged near four hundred new animals, and seventy-five new genera of plants; and species to the number of five hundred and upwards; all which he has already given to the world in separate publications; while many articles still remain under his investigation.

When M. Thunberg arrived in Stockholm, in 1779, after such a long absence from his native country, he had the honour of an audience of his sovereign, and met with the most marked attention and respect from all classes of his countrymen. Indeed, while he was cut off from their society, they had not been unmindful of him: they had conferred several honours on this persevering pupil of nature, which awaited him on his

return. This must have been highly flattering; but he farther received the most solid proofs of royal favour and national gratitude, which we trust he will long live to enjoy, for the benefit of science, over which he has thrown such a lustre, by his many useful labours. The reputation of Thunberg, indeed, can scarcely rise higher: almost every learned society in Europe has thought it an honour to boast of his name among their most distinguished members. His travels have been translated into the most fashionable languages of Europe, and have met with the best reception; yet it must be allowed, they are much more valuable for the matter they contain, than for the embellishments of language or arrangement.

Omitting the brief narrative of his tour to Paris, we shall take up our traveller at Amsterdam. Here, by the favour of Professor Bourman, and others, he was introduced to the acquaintance of some gentlemen belonging to the Dutch East India Company, who, having a taste for botany, and a desire of enlarging their collections with new exotics, listened with pleasure to his proposal of undertaking a voyage to Japan, and furnished him with the necessary means and recommendations. And as no nation, except the Dutch, is suffered to trade with Japan, it was necessary for him to learn to speak their language; to acquire which, he requested permission to pass a couple of years at the Cape of Good Hope, and to be taken into the service of the East India Company.

In compliance with this request, he was appointed surgeon extraordinary in one of the ships then bound for the Cape, named the *Schoonuzigt*, the captain of which was M. Rondecrantz, a native of Sweden.

Being amply furnished with letters of recommendation, and having made every requisite preparation, M. Thunberg went on board on the 14th of December, 1771; but, owing to contrary winds, they were detained in the *Texel* for a fortnight longer, during which time he made himself acquainted with the economical regula-

tions observed on board, both with regard to the healthy and sick part of the crew. Each man, at the commencement of the voyage, singles out a companion, on whom he can place the utmost confidence; and the messes are so regulated, that seven dine together.

It seems that an epidemical complaint raged on board the ships, which our author ascribes chiefly to the state of the air, and the number of unfortunate men who had been kidnapped, and were sent off as soldiers to the eastern settlements. Against this inhuman practice he inveighs with great asperity; and it certainly is an indelible disgrace on any country that tolerates such a nefarious traffic. In Holland, however, it appears to be carried on with the most aggravating circumstances, while the government at least encourages it by connivance.

The physician of the company had given the necessary directions to stop the contagion, and the usual preventatives were employed; but the disease did not entirely cease during the whole voyage, nor did it considerably abate till the miserable kidnapped persons were mostly carried off. How dreadful it is thus to sport with life, and to endanger the sound, by a communication with those who, from a previous confinement and ill usage, carry the seeds of disease on board.

At last, on the 30th of December, they left the Texel with a favourable wind, and in a few days entered the Bay of Biscay. On the 4th of January, the officers of the *Schoonzigt* were nearly poisoned by the criminal mistake, or rather the gross stupidity, of the steward, who had served out white lead instead of flour for pancakes. When brought to table, they appeared a little spotted, and extremely dry. The cook was therefore called in and reprimanded, on the presumption that he had been too sparing of butter; nor did the taste betray the deleterious composition of which they were made.

Most of the officers ate a pancake a piece, and the rest were consumed by the purser and boys; so that

twenty people partook of them. The effects suddenly appeared; most threw them up again immediately, and others in the course of the night and following day. The vessel in which they were dressed was first suspected of being the cause; sea-sickness came in for a share of the blame; but at last M. Thunberg, who had participated in this dangerous meal, more narrowly examining the sediment at the bottom of the frying-pan, put it on some live coals, and with a blow-pipe melted it into lead.

The cause of their illness was no longer a secret. Those who vomited early escaped without much danger; but others, whose stomachs did not reject the offending load so soon, were tortured with vomiting and cholics for several days. None, however, suffered more than the captain, the chaplain, and our author, notwithstanding the best antidotes they could have recourse to; and though no one lost his life, the misery that several of them endured for many days was beyond description.

One poor fellow was so raving mad with pain, that he attempted to rip open his own belly. His cholic at last turned to the iliac passion; nor could laudanum give him any lasting relief. A blister, however, being applied to the region of the stomach, perfectly removed the cholic, and a passage being procured by active clysters, he gradually began to recover.

It was nearly a month before they all recovered; and the various symptoms which appeared in consequence of this active poison, were as different as their constitutions and modes of life. M. Thunberg suffered a salivation, and had the most excruciating pains in his head and ears, so that he was at one time apprehensive of an apoplexy.

Without stopping at any of the western islands, they pursued their voyage; and on the 22d of February, passed the line. Here they saw many flying fish (*exocetus volitans*) which generally flew in one direction.

The scurvy began to rage more than ever, and the water grew putrid, and generated maggots.

For some days they had seen indications of land; and on the 10th of April, Table Mountain began to shew its head. Six days afterwards they entered Table Bay, and fired the customary salute. In the road M. Thunberg found a Swedish ship, which had brought his friend, Professor Sparrman.

Being safely arrived at the Cape, our traveller waited on the lieutenant-governor, Baron Plettenberg, and the other gentlemen of the regency, to whom he was recommended, who received him with great affability, and promised to assist him in his design of travelling into the interior part of the country.

Winter now stealing on in this climate, he found it necessary to defer his expedition till the month of September; and in the meanwhile employed himself in obtaining information respecting the internal economy and institutions of the company, and in examining the plants and animals in the town and environs.

The houses in the Cape Town, M. Thunberg says, are all of brick, white washed, and covered with flat brick roofs, or with a kind of grass, indigenous to the country (*restio tectorum*;) laid upon very low framework. On account of the violence of the winds, the roofs cannot be tiled over or raised high.

The domestics here generally consist of black or tawny slaves from Malabar, Madagascar, and other parts of India. These most commonly speak broken Portuguese or Malabar, but seldom the Dutch language. They learn various trades, by which they profit their masters; and are let out by the month, week, or day.

As well within as without the town are neat and excellent gardens, which produce many culinary vegetables, and much fruit. Among these, that extensive and beautiful garden, belonging to the company, distinguishes itself like an old oak, to use our author's ex-

pression, among a thicket of bushes. This garden, which is divided into forty-four quarters, is always open to the public.*

The small-pox and the measles are the most fatal distempers here; for the prevention of which they use the same precautions as are customary against the plague. Consequently, as soon as a ship arrives in the road, a surgeon is sent on board to examine the crew; and in case of any infection being found among them, the captain has a station pointed out for him where he may be supplied with refreshments; but all communication with the shore is suspended.

Yet with all this laudable care on the part of government to preserve the health of the people, the small-pox has, at different times, made dreadful havoc at the Cape, as well among the Hottentots as the Europeans. Nor have the measles been less fatal, from injudicious medical treatment.

M. Thunberg made several short excursions from the Cape, during the months of June and July; but however interesting his remarks may be to a naturalist, general readers would be little gratified with the particulars. He every where found hospitality prevalent among the farmers; though living in the town was sufficiently expensive.

Towards the conclusion of winter, in the month of August, the fields began to be decorated with early flowers, and our traveler thought of making preparations for his approaching long journey into the interior part of the country. After providing himself with various appendages necessary for a naturalist, he purchased a saddle horse, a covered waggon, and three yoke of oxen. His traveling companions were Auge, the botanical gardener at the Cape, who had made eighteen journies into the country; M. Immelman, the

* As we have given a pretty full account of the Cape, and the country of the Hottentots, &c. from Sparrman, and others, we shall be less circumstantial on this occasion. In a general work, repetitions, without novelty, should ever be avoided.

son of an officer; and Leonhardi, a sergeant; with two domesticated Hottentots.

Being equipped and ready, they set out on the 7th of September, and proceeded by Riet Valley and Groene Kloof, a considerable grazing farm belonging to the company. Here they remained a week, making collections and observations; and seem to have much enjoyed this delightful situation.

Having visited Saldanha Bay, where they saw an immense number of seals, some of which weigh fourteen or fifteen hundred weight, they returned to Thé Fontein. In this vicinity they saw that beautiful bird, the falco secretarius, distinguished for its beautiful head and long legs. It lives entirely on serpents, and therefore is a deserved favourite in every country where it is found.

On the 25th, they passed over the Berg Rivier; and next day took up their lodgings with a man of the name of De Vett, a descendant of one of the French families, which arrived with the first colonists to lay out vineyards, and plant fruit trees. Here they rested some time, in order to refresh their cattle; and in the mean while made short excursions in the neighbourhood, which was fertile in natural curiosities.

At this place M. Thunberg was shewn a snake-stone, so much celebrated for its virtues as an antidote against the bite of poisonous animals. When applied to a poisoned wound, it sticks fast, till it is saturated with the infection, after which it drops off, and discharges the venom it has absorbed in some fluid. It appears, however, that this stone is too costly to be within the purchase even of ordinary farmers; and that the Hottentots, when bitten by a serpent, immediately search for a toad, with which they rub the wound, and thus effect a perfect cure. They have also the art of extracting the poison by suction.

Our traveller being informed by the inhabitants of Rhooide Zand, that a bush grew in the mountains which produced caps, gloves, worsted stockings, &c. of

a substance resembling fine plush, he was anxious to unravel this mystery; and found that the plant in question was the *buplerum giganteum*, the leaves of which are covered with a very thick down, or tomentum, which being stripped off entire, with a little assistance from the scissars, really furnishes the specified articles; so that the matter is not quite so marvellous as it was marvellously related.

Having made a large collection of plants, birds, and seeds, they left this beautiful spot on the 6th of October, and penetrating into the country, arrived at a house near the Hot Bath, where they halted for the purpose of using this mineral bath, and of exploring the productions of the adjacent mountains. The water is reckoned extremely pure; but so intolerably hot, that it frequently brings on swoonings and nausea, if long used at one time.

On account of the flooding of the rivers, they were obliged to remain here a few days. On the 14th, however, they continued their journey, and on the 18th arrived at Zwellendam, the residence of one of the company's land-rosts, whose jurisdiction extends over all the interior part of the country that lies beyond this spot, and who has a power in most respects similar to that of the governor of a province.

Proceeding from this place, the plains began to abound more in grass, and to assume the appearance of meadows. The mountains were likewise broken into steeps and hills, and Nature wore a more vigorous, but less cultivated, appearance.

They had hitherto travelled nearly due south-east, through a country on both sides surrounded with mountains, which they now determined to cross in the direction of the Hautiquas, while their waggon was to proceed through Attaquas Kloof.

In the course of this progress they fell in with different parties of the Hottentots, whose manners, M. Thunberg supposes, and with reason, to have undergone a great revolution within the last hundred years. Bent

by slavery, or driven from their native haunts into more distant quarters, they are become timid and shy, and begin to lose many of those peculiarities which distinguished them as a nation.

On the 3d of November, they forded Koukuma River, where they fell in with a mad buffalo, that killed two of their horses, and drove Auge and the sergeant to the shelter of a tree; where they sat without making an effort to destroy the aggressor, though they were well armed.

So much were those two heroes intimidated, and so little was their curiosity, that they seriously proposed making the best of their way back to the Cape, where they could live better, and be less liable to be frightened by buffaloes; but when M. Thunberg represented how cowardly this would appear, and that he was determined to proceed, even should they desert him, shame, if not honour, got the better of their design.

However, our traveller left his doleful companions, for a few days, at a farm near Pisang Rivier, while he visited the sea-coast; and particularly Robbeberg, a very singular mountain, which, in its different strata, resembled a piece of heterogeneous masonry.

Near this spot he found the strelitsia, one of the most beautiful flowers that has been introduced into the gardens of Europe from this country. The Hottentots are said to eat its fruit.

Buffaloes are very plentiful in this neighbourhood, and it is nothing uncommon to see a herd of a hundred or two. A Hottentot, who had been trained to the business of shooting those animals, supplied the family of a farmer with them, without having recourse to the herd; yet so little indulgence did the poor fellow receive, that the number of balls were counted out to him, every time he went a shooting, and he was obliged to furnish a buffalo for each.

The crest-fallen sergeant and gardener having, by this time, somewhat recovered their spirits, they resumed their journey on the 10th of November, and

in the course of this day's journey refreshed themselves with Hottentot sack-milk, which they found very acid and cooling, though few travellers, unless urged by extreme thirst, would be able to prevail on themselves to taste it. M. Thunberg says, he had formerly imagined that the sour milk of Norrland, in Sweden, which is kept for several months, was the oldest in the world; but he found that the Hottentot sack-milk might, from its much greater age, be considered as grandmother to the Norrland milk.

On the 17th, near the banks of Diep Rivier, they saw a great number of small heaps of stones, under which an old Hottentot told them that the inhabitants of that track, who died of ulcers, were buried. Hence there is reason to conclude, that this place had been depopulated by the devastations of the small-pox.

The bread-tree (*zamia Caffra*) which is a species of palm, grows on the eminences in this district. It rises to no great height, but is very thick; and from the pith the Hottentots contrive to make their bread. They, however, bury it first in the earth for the space of two months, and when it is sufficiently decayed, they knead it into a cake, which they bake in the embers, in a very slovenly style.

Near Camtour's River the Caffrees and the Hottentots live promiscuously. The former, however, are by far the most personable and valiant. Their institutions and form of government are nearly the same in their origin; but the Caffrees, retaining their native independence, have deviated less from the customs of their forefathers. Hunting is their principal delight, and no people can be more fortunately situated for the enjoyment of this sport.

Near Sea-cow River, they heard of a colonist who had been bit in the foot by a serpent, of the species called Ringhals, or Ringneck. It seems the unfortunate man was two miles from home when he met with his accident. He immediately dispatched a slave to bring him a horse with all speed, on which he went

home, after binding up his legs tight, in order to prevent the poison from spreading upwards. On his return home, he became so sleepy, that it was with difficulty he could be kept awake: he lost the sight of his eyes, and remained blind for a fortnight. His legs swelled to an amazing degree, and covered the bandage in such a manner, that it could not easily be removed. An incision was made round the wound, and the foot washed in salt water. New milk was given him to the quantity of several pails-full in a night, but he brought it all up again. After this the serpent stone was applied to the wound, and the patient gradually recovered. Yet, though he lived several years after, every change of weather brought pains in the part, and the wound at times broke out afresh.

Having refreshed their cattle, and taken a pretty extensive survey of the country, in the beginning of December they directed their course back again; and though their return was not barren in botanical curiosities, they met with no memorable incidents before they arrived at the Cape, on the 2d of January, 1773.

Our traveller now employed himself in arranging his collections, and sending them to his friends and patrons. After accomplishing this, he passed the subsequent brumal months, as he had done last year, in botanizing in the environs of the Cape, and making short excursions into the country.

About this time, M. Sonnerat, a Frenchman, who had accompanied M. Commerçon as a draughtsman, in his travels round the world, arrived from the Isle of France. With this gentleman M. Thunberg contracted an acquaintance, and they made many excursions together to their mutual satisfaction. About the middle of January they determined to visit Table Mountain, to explore its productions at that season of the year; and were recompensed for their trouble by the discovery of many rare plants, particularly of the orchidææ, which they never found in any other situation. Among these, the orchis grandiflora was one of the most beau-

tiful, and the serapias melaleuca, one of the most singular. At the hazard of his life, M. Thunberg, for the first and last time, procured some specimens of the blue disalonicornis, from a steep cliff. This plant is as beautiful as it is remarkable in its form.

M. Thunberg informs us, that the wheat which grows in this country is much heavier and more productive than that of Europe. This shews the value of the Cape as a settlement; for whatever country produces the most essential necessaries of life in the greatest abundance and perfection, in the eye of Reason will always be most esteemed.

Though this tract is generally applied to agricultural purposes, the farms are not all held by the same tenure. In the vicinity of the Cape, the lands having been purchased of the Hottentots for tobacco, brandy, and other commodities, are the exclusive property of the colonist, which he is at liberty to dispose of; but higher up the country, on the other side of the mountains, are copyholds, for which the colonists pay a quit rent, and cannot transfer them without the permission of the governor. The buildings, however, on these premises, may be sold, though the land cannot.

Neither burghers nor farmers can contract wedlock without the governor's consent; but this is seldom refused, and therefore is rather a matter of policy than of extortion. Sometimes, however, the sanction of the governor has been denied; and in that case the parties have been obliged to defer their nuptials till the arrival of another governor.

In various excursions which our traveller made into this country, he was more and more convinced, that the whole promontory, called the Cape, is nothing but a vast mountain; for all the ridges and chains, as well as the greatest as the smallest, run between south-east and north-west; and thus take the same direction as the violent winds that prevail in this country. They also run parallel to, but at unequal distances from,

each other; so that some of the intervening vales are broad and well inhabited, while others are extremely narrow. It is singular, that in going from the towns into the country, from south to north, the elevation of the land still increases, notwithstanding several hills are passed; and this continues to be the case for three or four days' journey.

Near the Cape, which forms the most southern angle of the triangle of Africa, the mountains have the least extent. The farther one advances, the broader it grows, and the longer are the ridges formed by the mountains. So that there is a difference of nearly two months in the forwardness of the seasons, between the most level and the most elevated spots. In like manner, the whole southern coast, where the mountains go off with a gradual declivity, is always the warmest; and for this reason the most populous, and best cultivated parts of the colony.

In the month of March, M. Thunberg spent a day on the top of Table Mountain; and was gratified in the evening with a singular and most beautiful prospect from this considerable eminence, which, lying in the usual direction of the mountains in this track, has one of its long sides open to the north-east, and the other to the south-west.

The sun rising in the east, of course, in this latitude, proceeds towards the north, and at last sinks in the ocean to the westward of the mountain. This makes an earlier morning, and likewise a later evening sun. So that on the top of this mountain, about five in the afternoon, two different worlds, as it were, presented themselves to his view, of which the western still enjoyed the finest sunshine and a clear horizon; while the eastern was already covered with darkness, and a thick impending mist, though a moment before the sun sunk below the mountain, the view on both sides was nearly the same.

In the month of May, Major Gordon, our traveller, and an English gardener, lately arrived, of the name

of Mason, made an excursion on foot round the mountains situated between the Cape and False Bay, and were much entertained, as well with the picturesque scenes which every where opened, as with the natural garniture of the soil at this season. About the beginning of June there was a violent storm, in which the *Jonge Thomas*, one of the company's ships, was lost, and of one hundred and forty-nine men, only sixty-three escaped to land. M. Thunberg mentions, with due execration, the conduct of government, which was more intent on saving the property than the lives of the miserable crew, who were even treated with the most savage inhumanity.*

The violent hurricanes from the north-west have more than once occasioned shipwreck in these roads. In 1692, three vessels were driven on shore and lost. And about thirty years ago, no less than seven of the company's ships suffered the same fate.

On the 31st of July, a slave was executed, who had murdered his master. The delinquent being tied to a cross, his arms and legs were first burnt in eight different parts, with red-hot jagged tongs; afterwards his arms and legs were broken on the wheel, and lastly, his head was struck off, and fixed on a pole. This execution was conducted with much solemnity, in the presence of the judge, and a circle of soldiers.

The winter rains having saturated the dry hills in the environs of the Cape, various beautiful and elegant flowers, of bulbous plants, began to spring in the month of August. The plants, more particularly noticeable, were the *ixia bulbocodium*, which varied much in the size and colour of its flowers; the *moraa collina* and *spathacea*, the dependent leaves of which twined round the feet of the perambulator, and frequently threw him down; and the *moraa undulata*, the flower of which exhibits the appearance of a large

* See Sparrman's voyage to the Cape, who records the heroic bravery on this occasion, of a person named Voltemaal.

spider, and attracts the flies, called bluebottles, by its fetid smell. The elegant family of the irises, however, especially the papilionacea, excelled all others in the superb grandeur of their flowers, which was beyond expression.

September commencing, and the beautiful and flowery spring making its appearance, put M. Thunberg in mind of preparing for a long journey up the country. His equipage was, in most respects, the same as in the preceding year. Besides paper, books, and ammunition, he took with him several medicines to distribute among the colonists who might stand in need of them, as a mark of attention for their former civilities.

For his fellow-traveller, he had Mr. Mason, who had been sent here by his Britannic Majesty, to collect plants for the Royal Garden at Kew. This gentleman was well equipped, and attended by an European servant. Four Hottentots were likewise engaged; so that the party consisted in all of seven persons, who were to sequester themselves from the rest of the world for several months, and to penetrate far into the country to the north-eastward.

They set out from the Cape on the 11th of September, 1773, and their first stage was Jean Basis Kraal. Passing between the Tiger and the Blue Mountains, the soil was generally covered with sand and downs, and abounding in swamps, which now began to produce fine pasturage for the cattle. Among the bushes, in the sand, they frequently saw land tortoises crawling; and where they took up their lodging, they were entertained with this luscious food.

On the 13th, they arrived at the company's post in Groene Kloof, where they rested a few days, and botanized in the vicinity; and afterwards continued their journey to the sea shore. Here they visited the Salt-pan, a track of country overspread with salt water during the winter, which gradually evaporating, a salt is left behind, which the colonists collect for use.

They reached Saldanha Bay on the 22d, and having examined the small islands in its bosom, they pursued their journey to Witteklipp, which receives its name from a large insulated rock of singular appearance, and curiously arched on one side by the hand of nature. This cavity, which is difficult of access, seems only to be frequented by swallows.

Here they saw a number of wild dogs, or jackalls, the foxes of Samson, which prey upon the antelopes, and sometimes make great havoc among the sheep, unless carefully watched.

In the beginning of October, they passed the Black Mountain, carefully investigating the productions of the country in their way; and on the 7th, crossed the Berg Rivier, which was much swollen with rains, by a ferry. The roads now were exceeding bad, and even dangerous to the last degree; as, deviating in one place from the track, even a hand's breadth, would have tumbled them into an abyss.

Escaping, however, the dangers of this passage, they crossed the Elephant's River, and soon after arrived at Olyfant's warm baths, in the stream of which they found conferva growing. In crossing a mountain, on the 15th, their cart was overturned, and sustained some damage, which they repaired as well as circumstances would permit; but found it necessary to alter their route, on account of the difficulties attending their carriages in this hilly track.

Visiting several farms, at all of which they met with a hospitable reception, they proceeded to Roode Zand, where they arrived on the 22d, and were kindly entertained. On a hill in this vicinity, they still saw a good deal of snow. As one of the greatest curiosities they discovered in this track, mention is made of a farmer's wife, who, through good living and indolence, was grown to such a size, that she weighed three hundred and thirty-four pounds, or twenty-six stone.

The farms about Roode Zand are pretty thick, and the colonists appear in good circumstances. The vias

yards are numerous; and of wheat, a considerable quantity is sown.

On the 4th of November, they arrived at Jacob Bota's farm, a man who was in his eighty-first year, and from twelve sons had a progeny of one hundred and ninety persons, all alive. This circumstance has given him some degree of reputation; but his principal fame is derived from a misfortune that befel him from a lion, that not only wounded him with its claws, but even gnawed his left arm and side, and lacerated him in such a terrible manner, that he lay for dead on the ground. In that situation, the savage left him, and he was at length found and carried home by his servants. All this he recovered; though he was never able to handle a musket afterwards. He had, however, been the first sportsman of the colony, and had acquired a tolerable fortune by killing elephants. This patriarch mentioned that, in former days, within his recollection, the Hottentots were so numerous, that Christian settlers could not venture so far as Zwellendam; and that elephants abounded so much, even in the vicinity of the Cape, that he had sometimes shot from five to twenty of them in a day.

In the whole track of country through which they had lately passed, they found the banks of the rivers planted with the *mimosa nilotica*. On the 11th, they proceeded to Duvyvenhook's River, which the late rains had raised so much, that it was dangerous to cross it. M. Thunberg, who, it appears, was the most resolute of the party, and constantly regarded as the leader, boldly plunged into the stream, when, in an instant, his horse sunk with him into a large and deep sea-cow hole, which would have inevitably proved his grave, had he not been able to swim. By preserving calmness in the midst of danger, he at last guided his horse to the opposite bank, thankful to the Divine Goodness for his preservation, more particularly as this was the anniversary of his nativity, thirty years before.

Discovering a safer passage, the rest of the party and the waggons passed without any danger; and they continued their journey for the day without farther interruption.

Soon after they reached a track, which produces aloe trees in great abundance. They are generally about the height of a man, with their stems quite bare below, and a crown on the top, of broad, thick, and fleshy leaves. Here they observed the slaves busy in tapping and preparing the gum aloe, the virtues of which, in medicine, are well known. It is sold to the company, at a stipulated price, in boxes weighing from three to five hundred weight, and to foreign nations as high as three or four stivers a pound.

On the 15th they crossed Goud's Rivier, the current of which is strong, and so liable to inundations on a sudden, that it is dangerous for a traveller to take up his quarters too near its banks.

Passing Diep Rivier, they entered Lange Kloof, which is bare of trees and shrubs, but abounds much in grass. Our traveller having examined the level part of this track the preceding year, determined now to ascend the summits of the highest mountains in the vicinity, in order to observe the direction in which they ran. On gaining these eminences, he found that the greatest part of the road he had travelled lay over various ridges of mountains, and along various dales on a considerable breadth of hilly country, well filled with men and animals; while, on the other hand, the more plain and level land, in this southern part of Africa, for want of water, can seldom exhibit a single quadruped, and even few birds.

In this track, grazing is the only employment of the farmer, and great quantities of butter are sent from hence to the Cape, for which the dairyman receives no more than from three to six stivers a pound, though it stands the company in no less than two shillings.

While they were traversing this country, the dogs one night made a terrible noise, and the whole herd of

oxen thronged round the house. In the morning it was found that they had been pursued by a tiger-wolf, (*hyæna maculata*) and that one of them had been bit in the groin, and considerably lacerated. The hyæna is a bold and ravenous animal; and according to our author, will frequently eat the saddle from under the traveller's head, and the shoes from off his feet, while he lies sleeping in the open air.

On the 29th they took up their lodgings at a farm-house, after a very unpleasant day's journey. In consequence of the rains, the roads were slippery and heavy, and the rivulets so much swollen, that their proper fords could not always be discerned. This occasioned the driver of the cart, belonging to M. Thunberg, to miss his way, and to drive into deep water, which wetted the plants and other collections quite through, and gave him incredible trouble to dry them again. Many, however, were perfectly spoiled by this accident.

December 1st, they went down Cromie Rivier country, a continuation of Lange Kloof, and halted several days at Meulen Rivier's mountain farm, almost the remotest of the colony on this side. At no great distance from this station, Sea-cow River falls into the ocean. It abounds in fish from the sea; for, except on the coast, the rivers of Africa scarcely produce any thing valuable.

M. Thunberg, having exposed his body uncovered to the rays of the sun, as he was bathing and botanising in this vicinity, contracted such a disorder, that he was obliged to keep his bed for several days; nor could he bear even a calico shirt to touch his body, where the heat had raised inflammations. However, by anointing himself with cream, which lubricated his parched skin, he soon recovered.

The Hottentots that live in this district, and even those who are in the service of the Europeans, intermarry without any ceremony or regularity. A woman too, has sometimes a husband, and a substitute. If a married Hottentot at any time undertakes a journey,

His wife may marry another in his absence; a circumstance that happened to our traveller's driver, who, in his return home, with all that he had earned in his expedition, found himself a widower.

Having rested their almost worn-out cattle, they set out with a view of travelling as far as the Snow Mountains. And as the country through which they were to pass was either inhabited by Hottentots only, or wholly desert, they resolved to take with them some Hottentot interpreters, guides, and guards, with such a supply of provisions as they could conveniently carry.

Every thing being ready, they pursued their route on the 9th of December, and next day crossed Camtoul's River, which at this time formed the boundary of the colony. Passing Looris River, the country began to be hilly and mountainous, and sprinkled with fine woods. When they halted for the night, the Hottentot captain of the district paid them a visit, and encamped with part of his people not far from them. He was distinguished from the rest by a tiger's skin, and a staff of office, which he carried in his hand.

The Gonagnas Hottentots, and the Caffres, who lived here, intermixed, visited them in large bodies, and were entertained to their satisfaction; but nothing was so grateful to them as Dutch tobacco. The knowledge that they carried this commodity with them, crowded their levee, if it may be so called; and as it was our traveller's wish to gain the affections of the natives, and to reward their services, they had taken care to provide themselves with various toys, and other articles of little value, which they had reason to apprehend would be acceptable. Small looking-glasses, however, amused both the givers and the receivers most. It is impossible, indeed, to express the ridiculous farce that these savages acted when they saw themselves reflected in the glass; they laughed till they were ready to burst, and then turned the back of the mirror to see if the same effect would be produced from it as from the front.

These people, who were well made, and of a sprightly undaunted appearance, adorned themselves with brushes, made of the tails of animals, which they wore in their hair, on their legs, and round their waist. By way of a handkerchief, many carried a fox's tail tied to a stick, with which they wiped their faces. Some had thongs, and others strings of glass beads, bound several times round their body. . . But upon no part of their dress did they set a greater value, than upon small and bright metal plates, of brass or copper, either round, oblong, or square. These they suspended from their hair, on their foreheads, breasts, necks, and even their posteriors, with peculiar pride and ostentation. Mr. Mason gave one of the Caffres, with whom they were most familiar, a copper medal; which so gained his good will, that he voluntarily accompanied them throughout their journey, with this glittering badge hanging down on the middle of his forehead.

This country being full of wild beasts, and therefore, in every respect, more dangerous to travel in, they engaged an additional number of Hottentots to accompany them, who, for the love of tobacco, and other trifles they valued, readily offered themselves; so that the troop now consisted of more than one hundred men.

Proceeding through Krakakamma Valley, they turned down to the sea-shore; and when the heat of the day abated, they began to look out for some game to satisfy the craving stomachs of such a numerous retinue. After proceeding a little way into the woods, they espied a herd of buffaloes, to the number of five or six hundred, within three hundred paces of them. So large an assemblage of animals, each of which, taken singly, is a formidable object, would have daunted persons totally unacquainted with their nature; however, they advanced without fear within forty paces of the herd, and as the animals looked up and faced them with a brisk and undaunted air, the whole party let fly among them at once. Intrepid as they naturally are, the sudden flash and report of so many muskets put the herd to

flight, and they made for the woods with the utmost celerity.

By this fire, an old bull buffalo, of immense size, a cow, and a calf, were mortally wounded. Our travellers selected some of the most fleshy pieces of the bull, which they found tender and juicy; and gave the remainder, together with the cow and the calf, to their Hottentot attendants. The entrails, meat, and offals, were all hung up on the branches of trees; so that in a short time the place looked like a slaughter-house, round which the Hottentots encamped; having made a good fire, in order to be ready to broil their victuals as often as they could eat.

In the night they tied their beasts to the wheels of the waggons, and fired off several pieces, to frighten away the lions, some of which they saw lurking about. They likewise lighted large fires, by way of precaution, all round the encampment, and then composed themselves to rest, each with a loaded musket by his side. In the subsequent part of their journey, where man seemed to rule by day, but the wild beasts bore sway by night, they used similar means of preservation.

On the 15th they passed Zwartkop's River, and came to the Saltpan, a valley of about three quarters of a mile in diameter, and sloping off by degrees, so that the water in the middle was scarcely four feet deep. The Saltpan was now in its best attire, and made a most beautiful appearance. It has no communication with the sea; and the saline impregnation is entirely derived from the soil; by the rains which fall in spring, and totally evaporate in summer.

Having reached Sunday river, the banks of which are steep, and the adjacent fields arid and meagre, the greatest part of their ample retinue of Hottentots left them, and as our travellers were now approaching to a perfect desert, where neither game nor even water was to be expected, they began to review their strength and their resources. Mr. Mason's oxen were so afflicted with the hoof distemper, that several of them were ab-

solutely unfit for use: a council was therefore held with the drivers, and after mature deliberation, it was resolved, though much against their wills, that it would be impossible to proceed with such emaciated and sick cattle as they possessed, over the desert track which separated them from the Dutch settlements, near the Snow Mountain and in Cambedo.

After informing themselves, as far as circumstances would allow, into the nature of the country, the people, the animal and vegetable productions, they set out on their return with reluctance; and retracing their former progress in a great measure, they had an opportunity of visiting some of their old friends, or of making more accurate researches and enquiries, where they had failed before.

They passed a few days before Christmas at Jacob Koka's farm, and then proceeded on their return up towards Kromme River, and Lange Kloof. The track over which they now travelled, was wholly Carrow field, producing only a few bushes, no grass, and very little water. Here, however, grew the mesembryanthemum emarcidum, called kou by the Hottentots, a shrub famous all over the country. The natives beat roots, leaves, and all together, and afterwards roll them up like pig-tail tobacco; and having suffered the mass to ferment, they chew it, especially when thirsty. If used immediately after the fermentation, it possesses an intoxicating quality. The colonists call it canna-root. It thrives only in the driest fields, and is chiefly collected by the Hottentots who live near the spot, who afterwards hawk it to a great distance.

On the 30th they visited Olyphant's warm bath, which rises at the foot of a large ridge of mountains. The stones in the vicinity are ferruginous, and even the earth appears brownish. The water is very warm, but not boiling hot; and though it has an inky taste, has hardly any smell. This spring preserves an equability in all seasons, though the farmers say that thunder has some influence on it. The Carrow fields in this neigh-

bourhood are very thinly planted with vegetables of any kind; and in such a burning-hot climate, where not a drop of rain falls for the space of eight months at least, it is almost inconceivable how they can thrive at all. Their stems and branches have all the appearance of being brittle and quite dried up; but the leaves, on the other hand, are very succulent, and preserve their verdure all the year round.

Directing their course homewards, the drivers and the Hottentots were directed to proceed with the carts through Hartequas Kloof, and to wait at Riet Valley till M. Thunberg and his associates should come up, who were determined to ride over the dry Carrow, which lay to the right, and afterwards proceed through Platte Kloof. This expedition, however, did not end fortunately; for missing their way, and the sun sinking, they neither knew how to retreat nor advance; and at last were obliged to lodge in a valley near a small stream, while they tied the halter round one of their horses' legs, that they might not run away from them.

Notwithstanding they made a large fire of canna bushes (*salsola aphylla*) the cold affected them so much, after the intense heat of the day, that they could not get a wink of sleep. As soon as morning approached, they began to look for their horses, but found they had vanished, which in the middle of a desert, where their fate was uncertain, did not brighten their unpleasant prospects. However, after having searched the valley in vain, they ascended the heights, and behind these they at last found their beasts, which they instantly saddled, and, directing their course obliquely towards the mountains, had the good fortune to arrive in the evening at the house of a poor farmer, with whom they lodged.

Having joined their people and carriages at Hartequas Kloof, they staid a day there to rest their cattle. Here the weather was so hot, that the farmers shut their doors and windows, to keep out the sun: the birds could scarcely fly for languor, and the air was almost too hot to be breathed.

This whole tract was colonized only a few years ago, though it is now well peopled. Governor Tulbagh, whose memory still lives in the grateful hearts of the inhabitants of the Cape, was the first that added this country to the settlements of the Dutch. This man rightly considered that he was raised to the elevated station he enjoyed, not merely to live in luxury, and to accumulate riches, but to unite with the company's lawful interests, the happiness of the colonists, and the advancement and welfare of the colony. Actuated by those principles, he caused the country to be explored, and in other respects discharged the office of a good and faithful governor.

Our travellers met with nothing remarkable in the remainder of their journey. On the 26th they reached the Cape, after an expedition of five months, during which they had traversed a very considerable space of country, and had made large collections in almost every branch of natural history.

Soon after their return to the Cape, the *Bekyliet* arrived from Holland, after a long and unfortunate voyage, during which the scurvy had raged among the crew, and, from improper treatment, few recovered. Complaints were made both against the surgeon and captain for ignorance and negligence. The former died on his passage; the latter received the punishment he richly deserved. The sick had not only been injudiciously treated, but cruelly neglected. One morning four men were reported dead, one of whom, just as they were going to sew him up in his hammock, was found to be alive, though he immediately after breathed his last. Another morning five men were reported dead; all of whom had been sewed up in their hammocks, and two of them had already been thrown overboard, when the third, the instant he was put on the plank, called out, "Master boatswain, I am still alive;" to which the boatswain, with unseasonable jocularitv, replied,—“ You alive, indeed! what, do you pretend to know better than the surgeon?”

The laws respecting marriage, legitimation, and divorce, at the Cape, differ in many respects from those that are in force elsewhere. The wife of one Sardyn, who had been a soldier for seventeen years, and at this time kept a house of entertainment for the common people, was proved in court, by the evidence of two witnesses, to have had a criminal connection with a drummer. The prosecutor was allowed, it is true, to part with his wife, but she was exempted from all punishment; while the poor husband, on the contrary, was flogged and sent to Batavia, without being suffered to receive the least benefit from his property.

Children, born out of wedlock, may be made free by baptism, on the requisition of the father; but unless they receive this initiatory rite of Christianity, they remain slaves.

At his leisure hours, M. Thunberg never failed to visit the hills, fields, and mountains, near the town. On former occasions, he had generally hired a slave to carry his books and apparatus; but this year, by the favour of the surgeon, he procured a person out of the hospital, whom a singular destiny had brought to Africa. He was a German by birth, and following an itinerant kind of traffic, he had travelled much in Holland, France, and England. Embarking from Britain for France, the ship was driven by a storm on the coast of Holland, and he lost the whole of his little property. On getting ashore, he sold his knee-buckles, and with the trifling viaticum they produced, he set out for Amsterdam, where he met an old acquaintance, who, under the pretext of procuring him a lodging, took him to a kidnapper's.

Here his friend called for victuals, wine, and other liquors, of which they partook. At length, when his treacherous friend parted, the landlord gave the latter two ducats; and immediately upon this, he himself was prevented from going out, and found to his cost that he had been kidnapped. Being no stranger to the Dutch language, he threatened a prosecution; on which the kidnapper began to make some enquiries

about his residence and means of support; and as he could not pay his reckoning, he was forcibly detained.

When mustered on board the ship, he complained to the director; but as the poor fellow could not pay for what the kidnapper had received from the company to fit him out, he was sent off to the Cape, where he arrived sick, and was taken to the hospital.

When he was quite recovered, he regained his liberty, by running away, and getting aboard one of the English ships that lay in the road.

By the ships that had recently arrived from Europe, our traveller had not only the satisfaction to receive letters of approbation from his patrons at Amsterdam, but also a considerable sum in ducats, for the purpose of paying off some of the debts he had contracted, during the last two years.

About this time an English ship touched here in her way to Bengal, on board of which was Lady Ann Monson, who had undertaken this long and tedious voyage, not only for the purpose of accompanying her husband, who was going to the East Indies, but also with a view to indulge her passion for natural history.

This learned lady particularly distinguished M. Thunberg and Mr. Mason, during her stay at the Cape; and at her departure made the former a present of a valuable ring, in remembrance of her, and as an acknowledgment for some services he had done her in her researches here.

The government at the Cape having resolved this year to send a vessel to Madagascar to barter for slaves, our author was offered the appointment of surgeon; but much as he wished to visit so large and remarkable an island, his inclination to see the northern part of Africa was more prevalent; and therefore he recommended his countryman, M. Oldenburg in his room. This gentleman was likewise a botanist, and was therefore qualified to investigate the plants of Madagascar:

he had even made several collections, but death soon interrupted his labours.

On the 29th of September, 1774, M. Thunberg set out with his fellow-traveller, on his third journey, to the interior of Africa. After crossing Mosselbank's river, they proceeded to Paarl Mountain, in the vicinity of which vines are chiefly cultivated.

On the 8th of October, they came to a large mountain, near Riebeek Castle, so called, in honour of the founder of the colony of the Cape, and having reached its almost inaccessible summit, by a winding path, they saw their waggons just below them; but it seemed almost impossible to reach them. M. Thunberg, however, crawled on his hands and knees, through a chink a few fathoms long, only wide enough to admit an ordinary-sized man, had the good fortune to succeed, while his companion, together with his dog, stood astonished at this adventurous exploit, the one howling, and the other almost crying, to think he could not follow.

Arriving near Picketberg, they found an ample field for botanizing; and having satisfied their curiosity here, they proceeded to Verlooren Valley. In those sandy and bushy plains serpents were so numerous, that not a day passed without their catching some. While they were sitting on the ground to eat their homely meals, they ran across their legs without once biting any of them. Once a serpent twisted itself round M. Thunberg's leg, and suffered itself to be taken off without injury. Hence it appears, that these reptiles do not attempt to bite, unless in their own defence. From Verlooren Valley they travelled on to Lange Valley; and in their way to a place called the Gentleman's Hotel, near the mountains, they found the codon royeni, a very scarce and beautiful shrub.

Near the Gentleman's Hotel is a large cavern in the mountain, like a hall, formed by two rocks, hollowed out by the hand of time. The mountains in the envi-

rons are dry, barren, and brittle, appearing as if they had undergone the action of fire.

Their next stage was to a farm near Olyphant's River, where they staid a few days. Here are several flat-topped mountains, resembling the Table of the Cape, chiefly composed of bare rocks, with a red sand-stone, interspersed with pebbles. On some of the lesser hills they found the Hottentot's water-melon. Its root is round, about six inches in diameter, of a yellowish colour, and as hard as a turnip. It is much esteemed by the natives, and is not unpleasant to the taste.

On the 31st they advanced farther into the desert, which was of three day's journey. In the whole of this track they found only three watering places, and they were very indifferent, as well as salt.

On the 2d of November, they ascended Bokkeland Mountains, on the top of which the air was extremely cold. Weary, but not a little gratified, they afterwards arrived at Clas Losper's farm, a man with whom they were acquainted, and from whom they received many civilities. He was the richest grazier in the whole country; and, at that time, possessed no fewer than twelve thousand sheep, six hundred horned cattle full grown, and two hundred calves.

Bokkeland, or Goatland, is nothing else than a pretty high mountain with a level top, forming, towards the edges of its summits, a variety of projecting angles, pointing to the sea-side. The whole country is extremely barren, and, consequently, not much frequented by the colonists. Small societies of Hottentots are scattered up and down in it; and nearer the sea are two rich and powerful nations, the great and little Namaquas, who are employed in grazing.

From Bokkeland they saw the Reggeveld Mountains to the eastward; and nearer, the Hantums Mountains to the northward, behind which, on another chain, live the Boshiesmen Hottentots. These people had been very troublesome to the colonists, and differ-

ent parties had been sent out against them. Our travellers met one party returning from one of those expeditions, in which they had killed about one hundred, and made twenty prisoners, chiefly small children.

The Boshiesmen exercise their violence and depredations, not only on the Christian colonists, but, previous to this, have ruined the greatest part of the Hottentot natives. They are a warlike and savage race, and use poisoned arrows. Patient of hunger they can endure long abstinence; but when they procure a plentiful supply, they eat most immoderately, till their bellies are distended to an amazing size. When oppressed by famine, they tie a belt round their bodies, which they gradually tighten, to prevent the cravings of appetite.

The two following days, they rode along Bokkeland to Hantum. The latter country began with scattered ridges of mountains, and farther up stands a very high one, with a cleft in the middle, through which they rode. In this track they found that species of fungus, called the *Hydnora Africana*, a plant they had long wished to see, and which is, unquestionably, one of the most extraordinary that has been discovered of late years. It always grows under the branches, and upon the roots, of the *euphorbia tirucalli*. The lower part of it which constitutes the fruit, is eaten by the Hottentots, viverra, foxes, and other animals.

Lions haunt every part of these mountains, and are as disagreeable neighbours to the farmers as the Boshiesmen. Several extraordinary anecdotes are told of the resolution with which the colonists have attacked these formidable animals. One farmer, having fired at random into some bushes, where a lion lay concealed, so irritated this tyrant of the beasts, that he rushed out upon him, and seizing his prey, the man, in desperation, thrust one of his arms down the throat of the savage, which saved him from being torn to pieces, till he fainted away with the loss of blood. After this the

lion retreated; when the former recovering, found his hand so violently lacerated, that there was no chance of its being healed. He therefore laid his hand upon a block, placed an axe over it, and ordered one of his servants to strike it with a club. The amputated limb being dressed in cow-dung, and, tied up in a bladder; healed in time, with only the subsequent application of common salve.

On the 16th, they travelled along the foot of the Roggeveld Mountains. Here the country is called the Lower Roggeveld. This track receives its appellation from a kind of rye, which grows here wild in great abundance. The whole country is destitute of wood, and has only a few shrubs and bushes. It has been colonized about thirty years back, though the farms only skirt the eminences and hills; the higher parts being too cold and steril to answer the purpose of cultivation.

It is a custom with the Hottentots, in these mountains, to bury their dead in the clefts of the rocks, and such as fall into a swoon have the hard fate to be interred directly. Cold as the climate is in winter, these people have seldom any other covering than a sheep-skin about their backs; the woolly side being worn next their skin in winter, and the smooth side in summer.

On the 25th, they crossed the mountain to Kreutfontein. In the afternoon, as they were setting out from thence, M. Thunberg's horse had the misfortune to be bitten in the breast by a serpent, as he was watering at a brook; in consequence of which his foot swelled and grew stiff with such rapidity, that before they had proceeded far, he was obliged to be left on the spot. A small serpent, not six inches long, reputed highly venomous, was supposed to be the cause of this mischief.

Soon after they fell in with a second party, that had been in pursuit of the Loshemen. They had killed

and taken prisoners nearly two hundred and thirty Boshiesmen. One of the colonists had been wounded with an arrow in the knee, which cost him his life.

In Roggeveld alone, the Boshiesmen had, in the two last years, stolen more than ten thousand sheep, besides oxen; and had murdered many of the colonists, and their slaves. When pursued, they always retreat to the mountains, where, like baboons, they post themselves on the edges of the summits, and in the inaccessible spots, from which they hurl down stones, or let fly their arrows.

In riding along Visch River, on the 29th, by the carelessness of one of his Hottentots, M. Thunberg's waggon was overturned, and many of his boxes and packages of plants were lost.

On the 1st of December, the frost, rain, hail, and snow, were so violent, that they were obliged to halt two whole days, and even to secure themselves against the cold by additional clothing, and by keeping within doors. In the morning of the 3d, they found it necessary to descend the mountains, which they did with great difficulty. In a few hours, notwithstanding the intense cold they had experienced on the heights, they got to the Carrow land, where they found the heat intolerable.

They had now before them an extensive track of desert, where scarcely a living creature can subsist. In fact they saw nothing but rats, which probably live entirely on the succulent leaves of the shrubs in these parts.

Having passed this desert, they came to Dorn River, and taking the road through the valley formed by the mountains between Carrow and Bokkeveld, arrived at last at a settlement and farm, where they halted for refreshment.

On the 11th they departed from thence, having first purchased a large ram, which they salted in his own skin; and continued their route till they arrived at Verkeerde Valley, a very pleasant and fertile spot,

where they agreed to remain for a few days, to rest and to eat their salted mutton in solitude.

In a few days they returned to those parts where the settlements lay pretty close together, after wandering for several weeks, mostly in deserts, and often encamped in the open air, where they had been frequently in want of the necessaries of life. Novelty was not now to be expected. They continued their journey to the Cape with little variety of occurrence, and reached that place on the 29th of December.

According to our traveller's usual practice, no sooner was he arrived in town, than it was his first care to dispatch to Europe, by the returning ships, the collections he had made in his preceding tour.

M. Thunberg now received from Amsterdam, not only a sum of money, but also letters of recommendation to the governor general of Batavia, in consequence of which he had to prepare for a voyage to that country, and afterwards to Japan. In the three last years, he says he had travelled over as much of the southern parts of Africa, as the nature of his equipment, which was below mediocrity, would permit. He had also, during that period, received many favours from the governor, and other gentlemen in the administration, and likewise from some of his own countrymen, and the other inhabitants of the place; and therefore could not, without many heartfelt recollections of gratitude, bid adieu to them. The most cultivated minds are always most susceptible of friendship: in them it is principle; in vulgar souls it is interest or habit.

On the 2d of March, 1775, not without the most tender regret at taking leave of his friends, he embarked for Batavia on board the *Loo*, Captain Berg, in quality of surgeon extraordinary. On board the same ship sailed also a young man, who pretended to be a prince of the imperial family and court of Leuwesteen, who had been kidnapped and sent off to the Cape, and was now to make a voyage to Java; the government of the Cape, not daring to set him at li-

berty. According to his own account, he had arrived at Nimeguen with a servant, and unfortunately lodged at a kidnapper's, who had robbed him of his property, and then forwarded him to Amsterdam, where he was locked up with his servant for three weeks, and at length sent to the Texel, without having passed any kind of muster. His servant had suffered much by sickness during the voyage, and he himself had enlisted for a common soldier, all his property being gone, save a suit of scarlet, and a valuable ring. Being ill when he arrived at the Cape, he was sent to the hospital, where he happened to be known and recognised by some of his countrymen; but all the indulgence and redress he could procure from the government there, was an order to dine at the officer's table in his voyage to Batavia, where he was sent as a passenger.

The wind being favourable, they made a rapid progress; and on the 5th of April saw St. Paul's Island, between which and the Isle of Amsterdam they sailed. Sickness increased as they got into warmer climates; nevertheless the sight of Java, which they discovered on the 3d of May, was highly gratifying, though it was destined to be the grave of the major part of them.

On the 18th they arrived safe in Batavia road; and the day following M. Thunberg went on shore, and put up at the Gentleman's Hotel, a very large house for the accommodation of strangers. Having previously sent off various letters of recommendation, with which he had been favoured, to persons of consequence here, his next care was, to call on the parties individually, who vied with each other, in shewing him favour and friendship.

The governor, who resides at a small distance from the town, received him in the most condescending manner, and assured him of his protection and assistance in every thing relative to his intended voyage to Japan. Dr. Hofferan, to whom he was recommended, invited him to live with him, and make use of his table; and

M. Radermacher, one of the council, finding that our traveller had been more successful in cultivating plants and natural curiosities than gold, sent him a present of fifty ducats, even before he could wait on him.

Being so well introduced at Batavia, he spent his time in the most agreeable manner, and as the ships, destined for Japan, were not to sail for three months, he employed the interval in procuring information respecting the country, and more particularly its natural history. Meanwhile he was appointed surgeon to the largest of the ships, intended for Japan, and the chief commissioner of commerce, who was to proceed to that place, received orders to retain him as physician to the embassy, on his journey to the imperial court, to which he had been nominated ambassador.

Through the kind attention of M. Radermacher, he had a sensible Javanese to accompany him in his botanical excursions; and from him he obtained the Malay names of many herbs and trees, with their reputed virtues and uses among his countrymen. Among the most admired fruits of this part of Java, M. Thunberg enumerates the cocoa-nut, *cocos nucifera*; the pisang, or fruit of the tree of paradise, *musa paradisiaca*; the pine apple, *bromelia ananas*; the gojavus, *psidium*; the jambo, *jambolifera indica*; the mango, *mangifera indica*; the catappa, *terminalia catappa*; the papaya, *carica papaya*; the bread-fruit, *boa nanca*, or *radermachia*; the rambutan, *nephelium lappaceum*; the mangustine, *garcinia mangostana*; and the shaddock, *citrus decumanus*.

While M. Thunberg was engaged in his favourite pursuits, the time approached when the ships were to sail for Japan. And though M. Radermacher, who had conceived a high degree of friendship for him, tried to persuade him to remain at Batavia, and accept the appointment of physician, which was vacant, the income of which was six or seven thousand rix-dollars yearly; on account of the promises he had made in Holland, he preferred his duty to his interest. He

therefore cordially thanked his kind benefactor; and by way of equipping himself properly for Japan, bespoke several necessary articles of dress, both showy and useful, that he might exhibit himself with propriety among the Japanese, who view the Europeans with far greater attention than a natural philosopher examines the most rare and uncommon animal.

On the 20th of June, 1775, M. Thunberg went on board the *Stavenise*, Captain Ess, which ship likewise carried M. Feith, in quality of consul and ambassador to the imperial court of Japan. A smaller ship, called the *Bleijenberg*, with a supercargo and a writer on board, was likewise destined for the same voyage.

Next day, they weighed, saluted, and got under way in the road of Batavia; and on the morning of the 26th, they found themselves in the Straits of Banca, which are nearly as wide as the English Channel. The coasts of Java and Sumatra were both woody and level.

On the 10th of July, they came in sight of the Chinese coast, and soon after a severe gale came on, which is very common in those latitudes. Captain Ess being an intelligent seaman, immediately ordered to shorten sail, lower the topmasts, and take down the yards. This precaution was observed during the whole voyage under similar circumstances; and the event shewed that it was judicious. The *Bleijenberg*, on the other hand, carried all her canvass, till the top masts went, and afterwards the lower also. Thus shattered and crippled by the imprudence of her captain, she was with difficulty saved from sinking, and obliged to make the best of her way to Canton, to be repaired.

On the 22d, they again saw the Chinese shore; and some fishing-boats came off to traffic with them. Among other fish which they purchased, was the beautiful and transparent shell-fish, called *Ostrea pleuronectes*.

Since their leaving Batavia, the crew had been much afflicted with intermitting fevers; but as soon as the

cold weather and winds increased, the malady abated. Bontius observes, that in his time agues were seldom heard of in the East Indies; but at present, no species of fever is more prevalent.

On the 29th, they descried the Island of Formosa which once belonged to the Dutch East India Company. Formerly, all ships bound for Japan touched here; but no traffic is now carried on from thence with Europeans. The Dutch sustained a siege of nine months from the Chinese rebel, Coxinia, before they surrendered the citadel. This happened in 1662; soon after which, the island was united to the empire of China.

Hard gales, or rather hurricanes, followed each other in rapid succession. On the 10th of August, for the fifth time, in this short passage, they encountered one which lasted twenty-four hours with great fury. Hence it appears, how dangerous the voyage to Japan is, even during the most favourable season, which is only of three or four months duration.

Indeed, this navigation is esteemed so perilous, that the Dutch East India Company always consider one ship in five as devoted to destruction. And this calculation is verified by the experience of more than one hundred years, according to lists that have been kept of the ships employed in this service.

In the afternoon of the 13th, they discovered the land of Japan, and the same evening, anchored in the entrance of Nagasaki harbour, when fires were lighted up by the natives at out-posts, on the hills, to announce to the governor of Nagasaki, the arrival of a ship.

All the prayer-books and bibles, belonging to the sailors, were now collected and put into a chest, which was nailed down. This was afterwards entrusted to the keeping of the Japanese, till the time of their departure; when every person received his book again. So vigilant is the government to prevent the introduction of Christian books into the country!

A muster-roll was next made out of every person on

board, with his age and station, which was given to the proper officer. According to this list, the whole ship's company is mustered immediately on the arrival of the Japanese; and likewise every morning and evening, that any intercourse has taken place between the ship and the factory. By these precautions, the Japanese are assured that no one can get away without their knowledge, or remain without their leave.

A boat being perceived coming off from the shore, the captain dressed himself in a blue silk coat, trimmed with silver lace, very large and wide, and stuffed and furnished in front with a large cushion. This coat had for many years been used for the purpose of smuggling prohibited goods into the country; as the chief, and the captain of the ship, were the only persons exempted from a rigorous search. In this dress the captain generally made three trips a day from the ship to the factory, so heavily laden, as often to be obliged to be supported by two sailors; and as he was the only privileged person on board, the other officers were glad to purchase his services, as a porter for their contraband commodities.

However, the Japanese government becoming more enlightened, and having received undoubted proofs that prohibited goods were introduced into that empire by the Dutch, positive orders had been issued this year, that the chief and captain should in future be searched; and that no regard should be paid to persons in this respect. The captain was further enjoined to dress like other people; and to lay aside his fine blue surtouts which had been the unconscious means of amassing much riches.

These injunctions were not very pleasant, as they were unexpected, and highly prejudicial to the interests of the officers, who derived a considerable profit from their prohibited wares, which was connived at by the company. The captain, to his great regret, was obliged to strip himself, and to dress like other people. The effect this change had upon the ignorant Japanese was

entertaining enough. They had always supposed that the captains were really as fat and bulky as they appeared to be; and when they saw this sudden reduction, they were perfectly astonished.

As soon as they had come to an anchor, and saluted the town of Nagasaki, two Japanese banjoses, or officers of superior rank, and several subalterns, came on board, as also the interpreters and their attendants. The banjoses had a bedstead prepared for their accommodation, they sat cross-legged, according to the custom of the country. Their business was to take care that no improper traffic was carried on with the shore; to receive orders from the governor of the town; and to sign all passports and necessary papers.

They spent the greatest part of their time in smoking tobacco, drinking tea, and taking a sip of European brandy, with which the captain plentifully supplied them, though they used it with great moderation.

After the customary salutes were paid, the remainder of the powder, ball, and military weapons, was committed, as usual, to the care of the Japanese, during their stay. So suspicious, indeed, were the people of this country, that they formerly used to take off the rudders of ships, and to carry the sails and cannon on shore. This, however, being a troublesome business, they in time grew weary of it; and satisfy themselves now with disarming such vessels as enter their harbours, and placing guard-ships round them.

On the arrival of the Dutch, they found eleven Chinese vessels lying in the harbour of Nagasaki. The Dutch and the Chinese are the only nations that are allowed to participate of the trade to Japan. Of the latter, about six hundred men generally winter here on a small island near the Dutch factory, and directly before the town of Nagasaki.

On the 15th, they sent ashore the domestic animals, which are annually transported from Batavia, to supply the wants of the factory, as the Japanese have neither

sheep nor hogs, and very few cows or oxen. The imported animals are constantly confined in stalls, which in summer are open, and in winter closed up. In spring and summer they are twice a-day fed with grass and leaves; and in winter they commonly eat rice, and the tender branches of trees or rice straw.

In a country like Japan, where our traveller was not allowed to range the fields in pursuit of plants, this manner of feeding the cattle was a most fortunate circumstance for him. He constantly examined the fodder, as often as it was brought in; and selected out of it whatever was rare and uncommon for a *hortus siccus*, to enlarge the botanical collections of Europe.

On the 4th of September, whatever private property had been entered for sale, was sent off, and a strict inventory was taken of what remained, which afterwards could not be moved. The remainder of the month was chiefly spent in discharging the merchandise belonging to the company. On this business a number of labourers, or *rulis*, were employed, who constantly sang in a peculiar tone of voice, to lively and cheering words, during the heaviest part of their labour.

Custom-houses are not known, either in the interior part of the country or on its coasts, and no customs are demanded, either on imports or exports, from strangers or natives; an exemption which few other countries possess. But no prohibited goods can be smuggled into the country, on account of the vigilance that is used to prevent it. All persons as well as merchandises are so strictly searched, that the hundred eyes of Argus may be said to be employed on this occasion.

When an European goes ashore, he is first examined on board, and then as soon as he lands; not in a superficial manner, but with more strictness than even decency will sometimes warrant. His name is put down, and he receives a permit, from the intention of which he cannot deviate without extreme danger. Even the Japanese themselves, not high in office, are examined minutely when they go on board the ship. By this

means, and the severe punishments which attend the detection of smuggling, either in foreigners or natives, a contraband trade is almost impossible to be carried on.

The interpreters are all natives of Japan, and speak with more or less accuracy the Dutch language. They are generally divided into three classes, according to the perfection with which they can acquit themselves in this vocation. The superior class is composed of doctors, the second of assistants, and the third of apprentices; or rather of ranks and gradations answering to those titles.

The interpreters are extremely fond of European books, and yearly increase their stock by the favour of the merchants. They are also very inquisitive into European customs and sciences, and are the only persons who practise medicine on any just principles. Several clerks always accompany them, as well to the ships as to their college in the island of Dezima, who perform the most tiresome part of their business, in keeping accounts and writing permits.

As soon as M. Thunberg got on shore, it was his first care to form an acquaintance with the interpreters, and to insinuate himself into the good graces of such officers as most frequently visited their little commercial isle. As physician, he had the most favourable opportunities of rendering himself serviceable and acceptable to the Japanese, by his advice and prescriptions. Besides, the nature of his pursuits exposed him less to suspicion than the commercial adventurers; and he at last was able to obtain the governor's permission to gather plants, the object of all his solicitude, in the plain that encircles the town of Nagasaki. He was now happy in idea; but judge his surprise, when he found this order revoked, on the pretext, that there was no precedent for a principal surgeon having enjoyed that liberty, though there was one of a surgeon's mate. Such a trifling variation as this, is considered as important in the eyes of the Japanese, who blindly obey the letter of the laws,

without examining into the principles on which they are founded.

To our traveller this was a serious disappointment, as the autumn was advancing with hasty strides, though he did not quite despair of ultimate success. Meanwhile he encouraged the interpreters to collect for him; and by representing that every surgeon was first a mate, and that, in case of his death, the latter succeeds him in the appointment, he at last convinced the Japanese, that the precedent might apply to either. But before this logic was admitted, the season was too far advanced; and he could not make any use of the indulgence he obtained till the month of February.

During this interval he endeavoured to acquire some knowledge of the language; though this step is strictly prohibited, and was attended with many difficulties in itself. At last he obtained, from an old interpreter, a Latin, Portuguese, and Japanese dictionary, which had descended to him from his ancestors, and appeared to be the work of the Jesuits, when they had a footing in this empire. No other copy could be either borrowed or purchased, consequently our traveller had the greater reason to congratulate himself on this acquisition.

Nagasaki harbour is the only place where the Dutch and Chinese ships are allowed to enter. The town is one of the five called Imperial; and on account of its foreign commerce, is one of the most bustling in the empire. It belongs separately to the secular emperor, who appoints a governor in his name, who is annually changed; but after the expiration of a year, generally returns to his post; so that, in fact, there are two governors, one in office and the other out.

The town is surrounded on the land side by high mountains, that slope off gradually towards the harbour, which is generally full of shipping.

The island of Dezima, which the Dutch rent for a factory, may be considered merely as a street belonging to Nagasaki. It has a communication with it by a

bridge, and at low water is only separated from it by a ditch. Dezima is only six hundred paces long, and one hundred and twenty in breadth; and in this small space the Dutch are cooped up, guarded in the day-time, and locked in at night. The company's store-houses are fire proof; but the other buildings are all constructed of wood and clay, in the style of Nagasaki. On this island the interpreters have their college, where a great number of them assemble during the trafficking season; but when the ships are gone, only one or two come there, who are regularly relieved every day.

The chief for the Dutch commerce is changed annually. Formerly, when trade was more flourishing, two voyages hither were sufficient to make his fortune; but now he is obliged to make three or four to procure a competency. Two ships annually sail from Batavia, and return about the end of the year. The principal exports from Japan are copper, camphor, lackered woodwork, porcelain, silks, rice, and other articles. The copper is the finest in the world, and is cast into small bars, of a lively bright colour.

The imports to Japan by the Dutch, are sugar, elephants' teeth, sappan-wood, tin, lead, bar-iron, chintzes, Dutch cloth, cloves, tortoise-shell, China root, and costus Arabicus. The private trade includes a number of inferior articles, such as saffron, Venice treacle, rattans, spectacles, mirrors, watches, unicorns' horns, and the like.

The islands of Japan were accidentally discovered by the Portuguese in 1542, from being driven on their coast by a storm. They were well received, and carried on a lucrative trade here for nearly one hundred years. The English also had some traffic with these distant islands; but in 1601, the Dutch supplanted all the other nations of Europe, and obtained a monopoly, which at first was highly beneficial to them; but has been gradually cramped, till it ceases to yield much profit. The jealousy of the Japanese and the avarice of the Dutch have gone hand in hand to occasion this di-

minution of commercial advantages; for in proportion as the latter made farther attempts to secure illicit gain, the former abridged the immunities they had originally received.

Among the articles of private trade, unicorns' horns, (monodon monoceros) have been mentioned. The Japanese have an extraordinary opinion of its medical virtues and powers to prolong life, fortify the animal spirits, strengthen the memory, and, in fine, to cure all complaints. The discovery of this predeliction was accidental. One of the chiefs, on his return home, had sent some curiosities to an interpreter, his friend, and among the rest was a large twisted Greenland unicorn's horn, by the sale of which the interpreter became extremely rich, and a man of consequence. From that time the Dutch have imported so many, that the value is greatly reduced; nevertheless, this year, when all smuggling was obliged to be laid aside with the captain's blue coat, our traveller sold as many as enabled him to pay the debts he had contracted, and to expend one thousand two hundred rix-dollars on his favorite science.

Ninsi-root, called Som by the Chinese, likewise sells very high. It grows in the northern parts of China, particularly in Korea. A bastard kind, brought from America, perhaps the Ginseng root, is often brought hither by the Dutch; but this is strictly prohibited by the government, lest it should be fraudulently sold for the genuine sort.

Both the Dutch company and individuals are prohibited from exporting from hence, Japanese coin, maps, charts, and books, at least such as are relative to the country; and all sorts of arms, particularly their cymetars, which, in strength and goodness of manufacture, are unrivalled.

The weights of Japan are thus regulated: one pickel makes one hundred and twenty-five pounds; one catje sixteen thails, one thail ten mas, and one mas ten conderyns.

The money current in trade is reckoned in a similar manner; so that one thail, which answers nearly to a Dutch rix-dollar, is equal to ten mas, and one mas to ten conderyns. Kambang money, as it is called, or the money of the country, is never paid in hard cash, as it cannot be exported; but there is merely an assignment made on it, and bills are drawn for such a sum as will be requisite for a whole year's supply. Hence the commerce here cannot be considered in any other light than barter: at least, the money received in the island must always be laid out again in it.

Though the Chinese are the only Asiatic nation that trade to Japan, and they still employ a good number of ships, their privileges are also much curtailed, since they were imprudent enough to introduce into Japan, Catholic books printed in China. They are now confined to a small island, like the Dutch; and strictly searched whenever they go in or out. They enjoy, however, the liberty of frequenting a temple in the town, dedicated to the worship of the Deity, and have an allowance for their daily expenses.

On the other hand, they are never suffered to make a journey to the imperial court, as the Dutch are; but as this saves them a considerable expense, it may perhaps rather be considered as a favour than an indignity or restraint.

On the 14th of October, the Dutch ship was conducted to the Papenberg, there to remain at anchor, and take in the rest of her cargo. Soon after the ship has anchored in this harbour, the governor points out the day when she is to sail, and this command must be so implicitly obeyed, that neither wind nor weather must retard her. Indeed, when she sailed, the wind was actually so contrary, and blew so hard, that above one hundred boats of different sizes were employed in towing her out.*

* Strong as the love of gain is, it is astonishing that any people should submit to be treated as the Dutch are in Japan. No liberal mind could bear it; but fortunately for the avaricious, they are seldom troubled with delicacy of sentiment.

As there are several islands of different sizes in the environs of Papenberg, when the boats are restored to them, the Dutch may row to them without molestation; though, if they stay long, or visit one of the larger islands, they are sure to have a guide to dog them, or a guard-ship to watch their motions. The rustic natives, however, seem to be much amused with the sight of Europeans among them, and particularly admire their large and round eyes; frequently exclaiming, *Hollanda O-me!*

Papenberg is a small island, covered to the very brink of its shores with a peaked mountain, which is accessible by two sides. It is said to have acquired its name from being the scene of the destruction of the Portuguese friars, who were thrown down its precipices into the sea. On this and the neighbouring islands, M. Thunberg embraced every opportunity of pursuing his botanical researches, and met with no small success.

Of the *urtica Japonica*, and *nivea*, two species of nettles, the Japanese make the cordage of their vessels. It is very strong; and yet *linen* may be manufactured from the same plants.

About the middle of November the ship sailed, leaving fourteen solitary Europeans, with some slaves and Japanese, to be shut up in the little island of *Dezima*, not only separated from the rest of *Cristendom*, but from the whole world besides. A person confined here is, to all intents, sequestered from the affairs of men. The very energies of the soul are cramped; for there is nothing to excite either hope or fear, to awaken or gratify curiosity.

Our traveller employed this period of seclusion in collecting, examining, and preserving insects and herbs, in conversing with the interpreters, to whom he gave a taste for botany, and found them anxious to be instructed. By this means he acquired many plants, which they sought for their own gratification, while

they were adding to his. From those people too he obtained much local knowledge of the country, government, religion, and manners.

The cold now began to grow very severe, and, at times, was quite piercing. They, therefore, lighted fires in a kettle filled with charcoal, which was placed in the middle of the apartment, and warmed the whole room for several hours together.

About this time our traveller met with a circumstance which spread some alarm over their silent retreat. As he was unable to purchase a slave for himself at Batavia, the supercargo had lent him one, till the master should return here next season. The poor fellow, it seems, had a wife and family at Batavia, and being disappointed in sailing with the ship, became quite melancholy, and at last absconded, no one knew where.

He was immediately sought for, but in vain, by the other slaves. The interpreters and some Japanese made a still stricter search, without effect. At length the governor was apprised of this desertion, and an order arrived, with a number of officers and attendants, to renew the search till he was found; when, at length, he was discovered in an old storehouse.

Had he not been found, every house in the island, and even the apartment of every individual, would have been visited; and in case of missing him, the whole kingdom would have been alarmed, and enjoined to apprehend the deserter. This shews how fearful the Japanese are, lest any one should steal into the country. The poor slave, whose feelings did him honour, was obliged to be bastinadoed, and put in irons, and the ferment soon subsided.

They kept the new year, 1776, with much celebrity. According to custom, about the noon of that day, most of the Japanese, who had any connection with Dutch, came to wish them a happy new year; and were invited to dine with the chief. After dinner,

which was dressed chiefly in the European manner, warm sakki was handed round, which was drank out of lackered wooden cups.

On this festive occasion, the chief invited from the town some young females, partly as assistants at the entertainment, and partly to amuse them with dancing, which they did after their country fashion; and about five o'clock took their leave with the other guests.

In most of the Japanese towns, as well as in Nagasaki, there are particular houses dedicated to the Cyprean goddess; and such of the Dutch as wish for a female companion to assist in the management of their domestic concerns, may engage one for any length of time over three days, which is the shortest period of contract. The lady's husband, or patron, is paid a stipulated sum daily; and, for her services, she generally comes in besides for presents and personal ornaments.

The Japanese, indeed, seem to pay little regard to female chastity; nor do they regard lasciviousness as a vice, particularly if practised in such places as are protected by the laws and government. Houses of this kind, therefore, are not considered as infamous, or improper places of rendezvous. They are often frequented by the better sort of people, who wish to treat their friends with sakki, the favourite liquor of the country. Nevertheless, this institution carries on its very face a stigma derogatory to human nature, and to polished manners.

It is very rarely that a Japanese woman, notwithstanding the licence they are allowed, proves pregnant by an European; and should this be the case, there are various reports about the manner in which the unfortunate progeny is disposed of; but our author could not ascertain the real fact, probably from the unfrequency of the circumstance. Those women, however, who attach themselves to the Dutch, or inhabit the receptacles of infamy, are not considered as being dis-

honoured; but after serving a certain term of years, frequently marry to advantage.

Though the Japanese have only one wife, lasciviousness seems universally to prevail among the people; nor are the married women confined, as in other eastern countries, or at all delicate in their manners. They expose themselves in the streets, houses, or even bathing, without the least ceremony; or, perhaps, even the consciousness of impropriety, which is their best excuse.

Some of them paint themselves with a composition called *bing*; but this ornament is chiefly confined to the lips, which appear either red or violet, according to the quantity of the paint that is laid on.

The married women are generally distinguished from the single, by having their teeth stained black, which, in their opinion, is a capital charm; but in the eyes of an European, is very disgusting. This black dye is derived from urine, filings of iron, and *sakki*. It is fetid and corrosive; and eats deeply into the teeth. Some begin to use this ornament as soon as they are courted or betrothed, as a mark of consequence.

On the 7th of February, M. Thunberg having received from the governor a second permission to botanize, he, for the first time, had the pleasure of taking a walk about the town of Nagasaki, and afterwards of visiting the mountains in the environs, attended by several of the head interpreters and *banjoses*. Availing himself of the liberty he had obtained, he generally made an excursion at least once or twice a week, till such time as the ambassador was ready to depart for the imperial court.

The town of Nagasaki has neither citadel, walls, nor fossé. The streets are irregular, and terminated at each end by a wooden gate, occasionally locked at night. Few of the houses are two stories high, and when they are so, the upper story is generally low.

There are numerous temples in this place; and though it cannot be called handsome in itself, there are many delightful spots in the vicinity.

On some rising grounds are numerous tomb-stones of various forms. Some are rough, and in their natural state; but more frequently they are hewn with art, with or without letters engraved on them. These cemeteries being always on elevated situations, and having so many stones erected on them, are distinguishable from afar.

In the gardens our botanist found many of the European culinary vegetables. Near the villages were large plantations of batatas (*convolvulus edulis*), the roots of which are mealy and agreeable to the taste. They seem much easier of digestion than potatoes, which have been tried to be cultivated here, but with indifferent success.

M. Thunberg discovered many medical plants, of the virtues of which the Japanese were ignorant, as well as esculent roots that had never been brought into use; and he had a farther opportunity of ingratiating himself with the natives, by indicating their qualities and effects.

The 18th of February was the last day of the Japanese year; and, according to the custom of the country, all accounts are then closed between private persons, and fresh credit given. Happy the people who, at the beginning of the new year, can reflect on their being free from debt!

The new year was ushered in by the Japanese and Chinese with joy and congratulation. Every one was dressed in his best attire, and a round of diversions filled up the greatest part of the first month.

The year here is measured by lunations, so that some have twelve, and others thirteen, months; consequently the termination and commencement of the year are not on the same day, or always in the same month. Every fifteenth day is allowed for the cessation from labour. Day and night, taken together, are divided into twelve

hours only; and the whole year through, they regulate themselves by the rising and setting of the sun. The hour of six they reckon at sun-rise, and the same at sun-set, so that noon and midnight are always at nine.

Time is measured by burning matches twisted like ropes, and divided by knots. When one of these, after being lighted up, has burnt to a knot, which denotes the elapse of a certain portion of time, in the day, this is made known by certain strokes on bells, and in the night, by striking two pieces of wood against each other. The Japanese era commences with Nin-o, six hundred and sixty years before the birth of Christ.

A few days after the commencement of the new year, the horrid ceremony is performed of trampling on such images as represent the cross, the virgin, and child. This is done for the sake of imprinting on the mind of the people, an abhorrence and hatred of the Christian doctrine, which the Portuguese attempted to introduce; and, at the same time, to discover if any remains of it still exist in Japan; for which reason the ceremony is chiefly performed in such places as were formerly most frequented by the Christians. In the town of Nagasaki it continues for four days, after which the images are laid by till the next year. Except the governor and his train, every age and sex is obliged to attend this ceremony; but so far are the Dutch from participating in it, as has been insinuated, that only one person in the factory had ever seen the least trace of it; and that was accidentally in his way with a message from the chief to the governor.

There are several grand festivals in the year, which are kept for one or more days together; but their origin and design we are not made acquainted with.

Having previously sent off some of the baggage by sea, and made preparations for setting out to court, on the 25th of February, they had an audience of leave of the governor; and on the 4th of March, they commenced their journey to Jedo.

The embassy consisted only of three persons, M.

Feith as chief, his secretary M. Koehler, and our traveller, as physician. They had, however, a very numerous retinue of Japanese placemen, interpreters, and servants. In passing the bridge, which communicates between Dezima and the town, they were very strictly searched. A great number of people, connected with them in the way of trade, formed a cavalcade, to do them honour at their departure, and made a very fine show.

A banjos, appointed by the governor of Nagasaki, was leader of the whole caravan, and conducted every thing both in going and returning. He was carried in a large norimon, with a pike borne before him, to indicate his authority and high command. Several inferior banjoses were under his direction. The chief interpreter was carried in a cango, and to his care was entrusted the cash and the payment of the necessary expenses on account of the Dutch Company.

The ambassador, secretary, and physician, travelled in large handsome lackered norimons, or sedan chairs. These vehicles are made of thin boards and bamboo canes, in form of an oblong square, with windows before and on each side. Over the roof runs a long edged pole, by which the chair is supported on the bearers' shoulders. It is so large, that a person may sit or lie in it at his ease, and is richly adorned. The number of porters are in proportion to the rank of the person, and they alternately relieve each other. They generally sing some air in concert, which regulates their pace.

The Japanese, who attended, either on foot or horseback, were provided with a hat, in the form of a cone, tied under the chin; a fan, and a wide coat, made of oiled paper, to keep out the rain.

The whole of this numerous caravan, consisting of not less than two hundred persons, composed of such different people, and still more differently equipped, formed a fine spectacle; nor was the distinction, with which they were every where received, less pleasing to the Europeans.

They dined the first day at Iagami, where they were received by their host with a degree of politeness that would have done honour to the most civilized part of the world. He met them by the way, and with every token of submission and respect, bade them welcome; then hurried home, and prepared to receive his guests with due honour on their arrival. This obsequious attention of the landlord's was repeated at every stage; and, in addition to the politeness they were treated with, they found the general accommodation good.

The following morning they resumed their journey, taking the road of Omura, where they dined, at the distance of three leagues,* and then proceeded five leagues farther to Sinongi, where they slept.

On the 6th, in the morning, they arrived at Orissino, where there is a sulphureous warm-bath, which they viewed and then proceeded to Otsinsu, where they took up their lodging for the night. The warm-bath at Orissino was walled in, and had a handsome house near it for the accommodation of invalids, that resorted hither for the benefit of the waters. Japan abounds in similar springs, which are used in venereal complaints, the palsy, itch, rheumatism, and many other disorders.

The road over which the embassy had hitherto travelled, was very rugged and tiresome; but after they got into the province of Fisen, the country appeared more fertile, beautiful, and populous: the villages were closely planted, and some of them were of considerable extent.

Fisen is distinguished for its elegant and valuable porcelain, made of perfectly white clay, in itself very fine, but nevertheless wrought with the utmost diligence and care; so that the vessels formed of it become transparent, and as white as snow.

On the 7th, they crossed the river Kassagawa, and soon after arrived at Sanga, the capital of the province, which is defended by a castle, walls, and ditches. This,

* The Japanese league is nearly equal to three French; or one of their miles to a French league.

like most towns in Japan, is regularly built, with straight and wide streets. There are also several canals, which convey the water through it.

The people, especially the women, seemed of a smaller size in this province than in the former; and the married women, though naturally handsome and well shaped, disfigure themselves extremely, by extirpating the hair of their eyebrows, which here denotes the matrimonial state, as black teeth does at Nagasaki.

Having travelled near ten leagues next day over very high mountains, sprinkled with a number of villages, they arrived at Itska. They were now in the province of Tsikudsen, as soon as they entered on the frontiers of which, an officer was sent by the governor, to welcome them, and to conduct them safe through his territories.

M. Thunberg observes, that, however much strangers are despised or feared by the Japanese, on the sea-coast, nothing could exceed the civility and respect with which they were received in their journey to the imperial court. When they arrived on the borders of a province, they were always met by a deputy from the governor, who tendered them his services, and saw them safe through his master's jurisdiction; and, in short, had the embassy been composed of princes of the country, they could not have experienced more homage and attention. Even the lower class of the people exhibited the same tokens of submission as they do to their own grandæes of the first rank: they bowed their heads, and frequently turned their backs, which is a sign of high respect, as intimating an acknowledgment that they were unworthy to look on them.

The roads in Japan are broad, and furnished with ditches to carry off the water. They are generally kept in good repair; but before the Dutch make their annual journey to the capital, they are fresh strewed with sand, and every species of filth is removed. In hot and dusty weather, they are also watered. Their sides are frequently planted with hedges of various

kinds: among the rest our traveller found the tea shrub, very commonly used for this purpose.

Mile-posts are set up, which not only indicate the distance, but also point out the road; and, in fact, nothing is omitted that can contribute to the security and accommodation of the traveller, which might be expected among a people far advanced in civilization. The roads of Japan, however, when once made, cost little to keep them in a perfect state of repair. No wheel carriages for pleasure are known in this empire; and travellers either go on foot or on horseback, unless they are of high rank, when they are carried in cangos or norimons. The form of the latter has already been described; the cango is a square kind of close box, approaching the shape of a sedan chair, but destitute of its elegance or convenience.

On the 9th of March, having crossed the Nogata River, and passed several villages, they came to a large and rich commercial town, called Kokura. Though it still carries on a considerable trade, the harbour is so choaked up, that only small vessels and boats can enter it. This place is about a Japanese mile in length, forming an oblong square, and is washed by a river, which, after flowing through the streets, falls into the sea. At one end of the town, and alongside of the river, stands the prince's citadel, which is well fortified, and makes a very handsome appearance. In this the prince of Kokura resides, and holds his court. His highness received the embassy with particular respect; and they were extremely well lodged in this town.

The front part of most of the houses in the towns of Japan is appropriated for a shop, and just behind it are the kitchen and the apartments occupied by the family; so that strangers, who are generally lodged in the garden front, have the best and most pleasant apartments.

The dwellings are very roomy and commodious, and are never more than two stories high. The style of building is peculiar. The houses are constructed of

a frame-work of wood, split bamboos, and clay, which have externally the appearance of stone, and are covered with tiles of considerable weight and thickness. The whole area makes but one room, which is afterwards divided, according to convenience, by slight moving partitions, consisting of wooden frames covered with thick transparent paper, which slide in grooves made in the beams of the floor and roof.

The Japanese have no furniture in their houses of entertainment, consequently the embassy carried their own beds and mattresses, and spread them on the floor, which was covered with thick straw mats. Having neither chairs nor tables, they sit on these mats with their legs under them; and at dinner are served in lackered wooden cups, on a square wooden tray.

On the 11th, they crossed the bay to Simonoseki, in a yacht, and here they lodged for the night. This is a place of considerable importance on account of the goodness of its harbour, which is much frequented. Hence there is a great resort of traders to it from all parts of the kingdom, who deal in a variety of commodities not to be procured elsewhere.

This town is situated at one extremity of Nipon, the largest of all the islands, and contains the two capitals of the kingdom. On the sea-shore, a kind of ulva, called Awa Nori, is found, which, when dried and roasted over the coals, and afterwards pulverized, is eaten with boiled rice, and sometimes put into miso-soup.

They embarked, on the 12th of March, on board a Japanese vessel, ninety feet long, which is annually hired on the Dutch company's account, for the purpose of conveying the ambassador to Fiogo, a distance of one hundred leagues, which, with a favourable wind, is commonly performed in eight days.

A vessel of this kind ranks among the largest built in this country; nor are any other allowed, lest the natives should be tempted to go to sea in them, and quit their country. They are generally constructed of fir

or cedar, and have only one mast; and, properly speaking, only one deck, though the cabin, which is very large and roomy, forms another partial deck. The most singular circumstance, however, is that the cabin projects over both sides of the vessel, and, of course, has not a very elegant appearance, though it is certainly commodious enough.

During calm weather, the Japanese vessels are rowed; and when they arrive in any harbour, the mast is commonly struck, and an awning spread, which protects the people from any weather.

From Simonoseki, they sailed to Kamiro, which is thirty-six leagues; but the wind proving unfavourable after they arrived off Nakassima, they put back into Kaminoseki harbour, where they were obliged to lie three weeks, before the wind became propitious. However, they several times amused themselves by making excursions on shore, and visiting the temples and inns.

The air here was very sharp, which brought on colds and catarrhs, notwithstanding they kept good fires. The country appeared mountainous, but cultivated to such a degree, that every spot resembled a beautiful garden.

The long time they were obliged to lie at Kamino-seki, the Japanese spent in games and sports of various kinds. Those with whom M. Thunberg was most intimate, listened with pleasure to his lectures on the healing art; while, on the other hand, they entertained and informed him, by answering his questions relative to the government, and the rural and political economy of the country.

Among the games which the Japanese played, was one called Siobuts, or the game of the goose. In playing this they made use of a thick checkered paper, with different figures delineated on each square. A die being thrown, each person marked his chance on the representations in the square.

Cards are by no means a favourite diversion in this country, and indeed they are prohibited, though some-

times used in secret. They are fifty in number, formed of thick stiff paper, two inches long, and one or more wide, black on one side, and dissimilarly marked on the other. They lay them in different heaps with the stake a-top, and then they turn up a card to see who has won.

During their stay here, our traveller made himself acquainted with the Japanese compass. It is first divided into the four cardinal points, and then each of them is subdivided into three parts more, which receive their names from some particular animal.

As a curiosity, we give the different appellations of the quarters and points. Kitta, the north, has 1. Ne, the rat; 2. Us, the cow or ox; 3. Tora, the tiger. Figasi, the east, contains 1. U, the hare; 2. Tats, the dragon; and 3. Mi, the serpent. Mirrami, the south, is subdivided into 1. Uma, the horse; 2. Fitusi, the sheep; and 3. Saru, the ape. Nis, or the west points, are 1. Ton, the hen; 2. Inu, the dog; and 3. I, the wild boar.

Having at last weighed with a fair wind, they proceeded to Dsina Kameru, where they again dropped anchor, and all around them saw islands of various sizes. Wherever they stopped, the Japanese were anxious to get on shore to bathe. Cleanliness is their constant object; and almost every house is furnished with a bath; but, as the poor frequently use the same water without changing, it exposes them to catch the itch, and other contagious disorders.

M. Thunberg observes, that in almost every village there is a school, where the children are taught, and that the discipline to which they are subjected is extremely moderate. They are seldom rebuked, and hardly ever beaten. In their seminaries they make a horrid vociferation, by reading all at once.

Proceeding on their voyage, they again set sail for Fiogo, where they arrived after a disagreeable and dangerous passage of twenty-six days. Fiogo is situated about ten leagues from Osaka, directly opposite to it in

the same bay. The basin, being formerly open to the south, was reckoned dangerous for vessels, till the Emperor Feki, at an immense expense, and with the loss of many lives, caused a dam to be made to the southward of the harbour, in order to prevent the sea from breaking in to it. Numerous vessels constantly resort hither, though the water is too shoaly for any save Japanese shipping.

On the 8th of April, they set out for Isinomia by land, and after dining there they advanced to Kansaki, near a large river, which they passed in boats, in their way to Osaka. Here they were extremely well lodged and entertained; and shortly after their arrival, the landlord, in his holiday dress, with a joyful face, and most respectful demeanour, came to congratulate the embassy on their safe arrival, after such a long and dangerous navigation. A servant followed him, who produced, as usual, a small square table with a present, which was likewise decorated in the most superb manner: This present consisted of several oranges, of two varieties, on the top of which was laid a folded paper, neatly tied up, while round the sides were laid several square pieces of fucus, or sea-weed. All this is according to etiquette; and is a demonstration of the highest respect for the travelling stranger.

Here they took leave of their captain, who had conducted them safe to Fiogo, and afterwards attended them hither. They made him, and those to whom they had been indebted for services and assistance by the way, suitable presents, and parted good friends.

Osaka is one of the five imperial towns which belong to the secular emperor; and from its local advantages, it carries on a very extensive trade. Almost in the centre of the country, and not very distant from the sea-coast, it has vast supplies of every article of manufacture and native produce, which are diffused over other parts of the empire. Provisions are extremely cheap; and the most wealthy merchants and artisans have established themselves here.

The river Jedogawa washes the town, and by means of different canals, cut from it, refreshes all the principal streets. The citadel is of very great extent, and for Japan, uncommonly strong. Across the river are many fine bridges of cedar, which preserve a communication with the different parts of the town. In a word, Osaka is the finest and most pleasant place in Japan; where there is an incessant round of amusement to divert the gay, and the show and glitter of opulence to engage the eye.

They next proceeded to Miaco, for which they set out by torch-light, on the morning of the 9th of April; and after passing through several inferior places, they arrived at Fusimi, which, though only reputed a village, is nearly three leagues long, and reaches quite to the imperial capital, Miaco, of which it may be considered as the suburb.

M. Thanberg was delighted with the country through which he had lately passed. Except in Holland, he never saw such a fertile, populous, or well-cultivated track. Village succeeded village in endless continuity; and here, for the first time, they saw several carts driving along the road; and, indeed, these are the only wheel-carriages used in Miaco. These carts are long and narrow, with three wheels, each formed of one entire piece of wood, and were all drawn by oxen.

Near the river Miacos were a number of pelicans, which built their nests in pine-trees all along the road, as had the ducks, and other wild fowl; for so highly was the soil cultivated, that even the banks of the river were not left free for the birds to build on.

Our traveller had flattered himself with an abundant harvest of botanical curiosities in this expedition; but he was never more disappointed. In most of the fields, which were now sowed, he could not discover the least trace of weeds, nor even throughout whole provinces. Not but they are naturally as plentiful in Japan as elsewhere; did not the industry of the husbandman rid the soil of them so diligently, that even the sharp-sighted

botanist can scarcely glean any uncommon plant in their well-cultivated fields.

As there are no fences here, the seed is sown on small beds, about a foot wide, separated by a furrow of the same extent; and after the corn is grown up to the height of twelve inches, earth is taken out of the trench, and carefully laid about the borders, to furnish nourishment and manure to the corn.

In consequence of so laborious an operation, the corn-fields exactly resemble cabbage beds, which, on the heights, make an enchanting appearance, particularly where rice is cultivated, which is watered in the most ingenious manner.

Many fields are sown with East Indian kale, (the *brassica orientalis*,) which appeared this season gilded with yellow flowers, glistening at a great distance. The seeds of this kind of kale, called *natami*, are commonly pressed; and the oil extracted from them is used all over the country for burning in lamps.

In the town of Miaco the embassy was lodged in the upper story, which is not customary in other places, and here they continued four days. During this space they had an audience of the chief justice and the two governors of the town, who were complimented with presents, and in return treated their visitors with tea, tobacco, and sweetmeats. The chief justice is almost the only male at the Dairi's, or ecclesiastical emperor's court, where he acts, in some respects as martial; regulating and ordering every thing about the court. He also grants passes to those who wish to travel farther up the country to the secular emperor's court.

The Dairi's palace forms a quarter of Miaco, and is surrounded with a stone wall and a ditch, within which inclosure live the Dairi, his concubines, attendants, and priests. Here his whole pleasure lies; here he passes his whole life, and if at any time he takes a walk in his gardens, it is made known by signs, that no one may approach this quondam ruler of the country, now converted into its pope; but still regarded with such vene-

ration, that no man must behold him. During the time they continued here, his holiness was pleased once to inhale the pure air out of doors, when a signal was given from the wall of the castle.

Though Kubo, the temporal emperor, possessed the greatest power, as being the generalissimo of the army, still, however, the greatest honours were left to the Daira.

Miaco is not only the most ancient capital, but also the largest commercial town in the empire, an advantage for which it is indebted to its central situation. It stands on a level plain, about four leagues in length, and half a league in breadth. Here are established many beautiful manufactures in velvets and silks, wove with gold and silver, and in most kinds of metals. Here the coin is struck and stamped, and the celebrated Japanese copper smelted, refined, and manufactured. Here too all kinds of literature are encouraged and supported, as at a royal academy, and all the books published in the empire are printed here.

After bespeaking several curiosities of the merchants who were permitted to visit them, on the 14th of April they resumed their journey and dined at Oits, a town seated on a lake of the same name, near forty Japanese miles in length. All the ancient histories relate, that this lake was formed in one night by an earthquake, in which this whole track of country sank, and was instantly covered with water.

This lake is of great utility to the adjacent country, by promoting a commercial intercourse, which is carried on to a considerable extent all along its banks. It is likewise remarkable for containing salmon, so very rarely found in the East Indies, and particularly in fresh water, as this is. Some of these, which they had an opportunity of seeing and tasting, weighed ten pounds, and were very delicious.

In the afternoon they continued their journey to Tsetta, where they crossed a river by a magnificent bridge, three hundred and fifty paces long. In the

evening they took up their lodgings at a village called Kusats.

Next morning, they travelled through a succession of towns and villages for a great space, in a rich and fertile district, called Omi. They dined at Minakuts, and here, as well as in many other places, the sick persons from the adjacent parts came to consult the Dutch physician relative to their chronic complaints. These disorders were frequently large indurated glands in the neck, and ulcers which had generally taken deep root in the habit.

In passing through the country of Issi, the population and fertility of the soil seemed to increase; but their olfactory nerves were annoyed by a vile custom of building the privies towards the street, and saving the urine in a large jar, for the sake of manure, the stench from which was almost intolerable; nor were any perfumes sufficient to counteract it. The exhalations from such a mephitic vapour evidently affected the eyes of the natives, though their noses might, from habit, be proof against it; and they suffered from their over-strained economy, without probably knowing the cause.

At Jokaits they again fell in with the shore, which they followed almost all the way to Jedo, fording many large and dangerous streams, where bridges could not be built, on account of the torrents in the rainy seasons, and the currents from the sea.

In their way to Kwana they were assailed by the mendicant importunities of three nuns, who followed them for several hours constantly begging, though at first they had received a piece of silver from each. They were said to be daughters of priests, or monks, in the mountains, called Jammabos, and that their chief support was alms, out of which they paid a tribute to the temple of Isi.

Kwana is a large and fortified town, the capital of the province of Owari. Here they lodged in a hand-

some and commodious inn. The town has two forts, and is surrounded with walls and ditches.

On the 17th, they embarked in a Japanese vessel and crossed the bay of Mia, which is reckoned seven leagues broad. No navigation could be more singular than this. When they approached the harbour of Mia, the water became so shallow that they were obliged to get on board several small boats, which, before they could get up to the town, were pushed over the mud by persons who stripped themselves for that purpose; so that they might be said to sail rather by land than by water.

Mia has neither walls nor forts, but is extremely populous and commercial, notwithstanding the shallowness of its harbour. The central street is of vast length, and lines a river as far as the town of Nagaja, which may be considered as its fortress.

Passing through various towns and villages, and crossing a bridge at Mikawa, no less than one hundred and fifty-eight fathoms long, and reckoned the most extensive in the empire, they came to Josida, where they spent the night. In this day's march the country appeared more picturesque than it had done for some time before, being varied with mountains, plains, and valleys, every where well cultivated. In this month the rice was transplanted from the seed-beds, a task generally allotted to the women, who, on this occasion wade half leg deep in water and mud.

Our botanist found the *fucus saccharinus* thrown on the shore in those parts. It was of considerable length and breadth, and, when dried and cleaned, is used by the Japanese in a variety of ways; and is indeed so much valued, that it forms a part of their most festive entertainments, and is considered as enhancing their customary presents. Here too they saw the natives extracting oil for their lamps from the *dryandra cordata*.

Travellers wear out their shoes in this country very fast, and as easily replace them. They are made of

plaited rice straw, and are sold at a very low rate in every village, even the most inconsiderable. Hence shoe-making forms the employment of numerous hands. Even the horses are shod with straw instead of iron. They are tied above the hoof with strings of the same materials; and in slippery roads are extremely convenient, though they cannot be reckoned very durable.

Numbers of almond, peach, and apricot trees, now in blossom, enchanted the eye, the smell, and made a glorious appearance with their snow-white petals at a considerable distance. Various other fruits likewise enriched the scene near towns and villages.

Next day they arrived at Arraij, situated on the borders of a large bay, which, to appearance, forms one of the best and safest harbours in the universe, and if fortified in the European manner, would be absolutely impregnable. Here the merchandise and baggage of every traveller are searched by persons appointed by the emperor, who are very strict in examining that neither women nor arms are introduced, by which the tranquillity of the country might be interrupted.

On the 20th of April, after passing several towns, they reached the river Oygawa, one of the largest and most dangerous in the whole country. It is extremely rapid, and liable to be swollen with rains, which devolve large stones into its bed from the mountains. Neither bridges nor boats can be used here, and travellers are carried across the stream by persons acquainted with the depth, and who are answerable with their lives for any sinister accident that may happen. They are paid according to the height of the water, and the danger they have to incur.

Being conducted safe over, though their situation appeared very alarming, they halted at the village of Simada for two days, to refresh themselves. After they resumed their journey, they met with nothing remarkable till the mountains of Ferrá appeared on the 24th, over which they were to pass, and again quit the sea-

shore. The country here abounded in pines and other sorts of wood. At Josiwara, they were pretty near to the mountain of Fusi, which is so high, that its top is covered with perpetual snow that glistens far above the clouds. The Japanese compute its ascent at six leagues: it is somewhat of a conical figure. The natives, when prompted by curiosity to ascend this peak, generally allot three days for the purpose. They believe it is the residence of the god of winds.

The following day their route, which was very fatiguing and troublesome, lay over the Fakonie mountains. It took up the whole morning to reach their top, and the remainder of the day to descend. In this passage, as an ample field for botanical researches presented itself, M. Thunberg was very little in his norimon. He was not allowed, indeed, to depart far from the road; but being accustomed to the steep mountains in Africa, he frequently got to a considerable distance before his panting and anxious followers could overtake him.

One of the largest and most beautiful trees that he saw here, was the superb and incomparable thuja dolabratta, the most beautiful of all the fir-leaved trees. Here, too, he found a shrub to which he gave the name of *Lindera*. The wood of this is so soft, that the Japanese make tooth-brushes of it.

The northern and mountainous parts of Japan being very cold, he also found here several genera of trees and shrubs indigenous to Europe, though, in general, they were of a new species. Thus he discovered two or three kinds of oaks, a few viburnas, and some trees of the maple genus, with a wild sort of Japanese pear.

That beautiful plant, the *gardenia florida*, seldom to be met with in other places, in this track was used by the principal persons for making hedges round their dwellings. The seed vessels are sold in the shops, and used for dying yellow.

The village of Fakonie lies on the borders of a lake.

environed by mountains. This piece of water, which is about a league long, and three quarters of a league in breadth, likewise produces salmon, and was said to have been produced by an earthquake, a phenomenon not unusual in Japan.

Cedars, the *cupressus Japonica*, grow plentifully in this district. They are extremely beautiful, tall, straight, and useful for a variety of purposes; as the wood is uncommonly durable, in any situation to which it can be applied.

Leaving this romantic spot, in their descent down the mountain, they saw many pretty artificial cascades and aqueducts from the lake, made by the inhabitants for the convenience of watering their lands. Soon after they came to the second imperial guard on this road, by which they were narrowly searched, in presence of the sitting imperial commissioners.

The situation of the country is such, that those who pursue this route to Jedo, must pass over Mount Fakonie, and come to this pass, which is guarded and shut up with gates. It therefore answers the purpose of a frontier to the northern part of the country and the capital. Here travellers must exhibit their passports, or submit to be detained.

On the 27th they were within ten leagues of Jedo, and their route lay through a well-peopled, beautiful, country, where the villages almost touched each other. At last they arrived at Sinagawa, which, with Takana-va, form two suburbs to the imperial residence of Jedo. After refreshing themselves at the former, which commands a most enchanting view of this mighty city, they proceeded on their way; and began to be attended by shoals of people, allured by curiosity to see men that came from such a remote quarter of the globe.

Having passed over Niponbas, a bridge of great magnificence, from which all the roads in the kingdom are measured, they were carried with a slow and silent pace for a full hour along a large and broad street, before they arrived at the destined inn. Their

first entrance into this hotel did not promise any thing very great or elegant; but being shewn up stairs, they found their apartments tolerably neat, though not such as might have been expected from an embassy from so distant a part of the world. A large apartment formed their anti-chamber, drawing-room, and dining-room. The ambassador had an apartment to himself; and the secretary and M. Thunberg another, partitioned off on occasion, from his excellency's. The view was towards a narrow street, which was generally crowded with people, anxious to have a sight of the strangers.

Thus they finished their long journey with health and pleasure, and were now settled in Jedo, in the remotest corner of the east.

In their way they had an opportunity of seeing the style in which the princes of the country make their annual journey to the imperial court. Their retinue is splendid or mean in proportion to their rank; but they all affect as much consequence as they can support on this solemn occasion. The train of some of the chief princes consisted of more than one thousand men. Their coats of arms, and other insignia, were always carried before their norimons, in which they travelled with great state, order, and magnificence. A beautiful led horse or two, generally preceded them; and some had one or more falcons trained to the sport, carried on their arm. Wherever they passed, a profound silence was observed; and people on the road fell prostrate on the ground to mark their respect.

When these grandees passed the embassy, in general the curtain of their norimon was down; some of them, however, had the politeness to draw it up, and even to bow to them.

On the frontiers of every province, through which the Europeans had passed, they were received and complimented; but though they frequently lodged in the towns where the princes had fixed their residence, they neither visited them, nor were visited by them.

It is the policy of the court to prevent, as far as possible, any intercourse between the Dutch and the natives. One evening, however, when the embassy had taken up his quarters for the night at an inn on the road, a prince came incognito to see them, attended by only two of his gentlemen, and staid till a late hour, conversing on a variety of topics. He seemed an intelligent and inquisitive person, and behaved in a very friendly and engaging manner.

In this journey to Jedo, the embassy had passed through fourteen provinces, besides coasting eight more, during that part of the expedition which they made by sea.

Though they were not suffered to go abroad before an audience, nor to be visited without a special permission from the court, no sooner were they arrived at Jedo, than numbers flocked to see them. The great, the learned, were among their first visitors, and afterwards the merchants and artisans.

Among their earliest friends were five physicians and two astronomers, who, in a very ceremonious manner, came to congratulate them on their arrival. They were received by the whole embassy; but in a short time finding M. Thunberg best travelled in the extensive fields of science, they attached themselves principally to him, and engaged him in conversation. The astronomers were both elderly and sedate men. Their questions chiefly regarded eclipses, which it appeared they were incapable of calculating with mathematical exactitude; but our author being less versed in this sublime science than he could have wished, and conversing entirely through the medium of interpreters, it often happened that they did not clearly understand each other.

With the physicians he was more in his element, particularly as two of them understood a little Dutch, and the interpreters were not quite ignorant of the healing art. The senior physician took the lead in discourse. After the first interview, two of the

younger doctors visited M. Thunberg, without ceremony, every day, and frequently staid till late at night, eager to obtain knowledge in the sciences for which they had a predilection. One of them was the emperor's body physician; he was young, good-natured, active, and lively. The other was likewise first physician to one of the highest princes of the country. The latter spoke Dutch tolerably well, and had some knowledge of natural history in its various branches, collected chiefly from Dutch books and physicians. Both were inexpressibly insinuating and fond of learning; and finding that M. Thunberg possessed more knowledge than the Dutch doctors who had formerly visited the metropolis, who indeed were little better than farriers, they conceived a very high opinion of him, which was increased by the report that had preceded him, of a learned Dutch doctor being expected that year.

With these persons our traveller spent his time very agreeably, giving and receiving knowledge; and they frequently brought him, either as presents or for his inspections, small collections of drugs, minerals, and plants, of which they gave the indigenous names; while he communicated to them, in return, the Latin and Dutch appellations. They possessed a few antiquated books on botany and surgery, which they had purchased of the Dutch. M. Thunberg increased their collection by selling them some rather more modern.

The houses in Jedo, as in other towns of this empire, are generally two stories high, the uppermost of which is seldom occupied, and are covered with tiles. As fires are very frequent and alarming, so the utmost vigilance is used to lessen or prevent the danger. One watch is kept in Jedo, to announce the hour, and another expressly for the prevention of fires. Yet with all their care, several fires broke out while the embassy continued here; but they were extinguished before they had risen to any height. They likewise

felt several shocks of an earthquake, though they were not very severe.

Being valued and honoured by the literati, our traveller found an opportunity of purchasing some beautiful botanical works, and other publications of the country. He met also with one, bearing date 1597, which had this notification, *In Collegio Japonico Societatis Jesu*. But the most curious book, that fell into his hands, was a publication on the subject of the Japanese fishes, with coloured figures of them; which, he says, was the most elegant specimen of the arts ever exhibited in Japan; and which deserves singular commendation even from Europeans.

A kind of thick paper, of a brownish colour, with several single darkish streaks on it, was sold as a great rarity. Several pieces more than a foot square were sometimes neatly pasted together, and were said to be worn by the elderly people as night-gowns, while the young were absolutely forbidden to use them. It is difficult to determine on what principle such a dress was employed, as they are in no want of far more valuable and durable articles of clothing.

The Japanese eat thrice a day, and their general fare is miso-soup boiled with fish and onions. Candles, made here, are formed of an oil pressed from the seeds of rhus succedanea. This oil, when concrete, becomes of the consistence of tallow. The province of Jetsigo more particularly produces this tree. Among the presents, which the prince of that country makes to the imperial court, are one hundred candles about a foot long, and as thick as a man's arm, with a wick in proportion. These gala candles are only used at two grand festivals in the year; on other occasions, lamps are lighted both at court and in the country.

The 13th of May was fixed for the day of audience. On the morning of that day, they dressed in their best apparel of costly silks, interlaced with silver and gold. They wore a sword on this occasion, and a large black silk cloak. The presents, to the emperor and the

other grandees, had been previously forwarded, and were arranged in the hall of audience.

They were carried a considerable way in their norimons, before they arrived at the imperial palace, which is surrounded by fosses, stone-walls, and draw-bridges, and of itself is said to be five leagues in circumference. In the exterior citadel, which was the largest of all, were several handsome streets of spacious houses, belonging to the princes of the country, the privy counsellors, and other officers of state.

The first gate they entered had a pretty strong guard, but the second gate was said to be guarded by no less than one thousand men daily. After passing this, they quitted their vehicles, and waited some time before they were suffered to advance any farther. At last leave was given, and they passed through a long line of warriors, quite up to the imperial residence.

The emperor's private palace was situated on an eminence; and, though it was only one story high, it was considerably more elevated than any other building, and occupied a large space of ground. Being conducted into an antichamber, they again waited for at least an hour; numbers of the grandees taking a view of them, and some, prompted by curiosity, entering into conversation with them.

At last the instant arrived when the ambassador was to have an audience. He was received in the royal presence, while the rest remained where they were till his return. After the ambassador rejoined them, they were still detained a long time in the antichamber, receiving the visits of different courtiers, and answering a number of questions proposed to them. A deep silence prevailed when the princes came forward; and it was said that among them was his imperial majesty in disguise, that he might have a nearer view of the strangers.

The emperor at that time was named MINAMOTO *no* JE FARU *Koo*, or Je Faru, without the usual additions. He had also other titles granted him by the Dairi. He was of a middle size, hale constitution,

and above forty years of age. The hereditary prince, named JE MOTO, was said to be about twelve years old.

The visits being ended, they had permission to see several rooms in the palace, particularly that in which audience was given. The ambassador was conducted along a passage to the hall of audience, which opened by a sliding door, and consisted in a manner of three rooms, each a step higher than the other, and about thirty paces long in the whole.

The emperor, as M. Thunberg was informed, stood, during the audience, in the most interior part of the room, with the hereditary prince on his right hand, while the ambassador was at the other end of the apartment. To the right of this room extended a saloon, six hundred feet long and three hundred broad, and covered with one hundred mats, where the most dignified men of the empire, privy counsellors, and princes, take their seats, according to their rank and dignity.

The ceremony of audience is very short. As soon as the ambassador enters the room, he falls on his knees, lays his hand on the mat, and bows his head towards it, the usual mode in which the Japanese make their obeisance. This being done, he rises, and is conducted back by the same way he went.

The apartments which they visited were destitute of furniture. The floors, however, were covered with large and very fine white straw mats, and the cornices and doors were handsomely lackered and gilt.

They were afterwards conducted to the palace of the hereditary prince, which was united to the imperial apartments by a bridge; and were complimented in the prince's name, and then shewn to their norimons.

The day was already far advanced, and they began to want some refreshment, nevertheless they were obliged to pay visits to all the privy counsellors, consisting of six ordinary, and six extraordinary, all at their respective houses. Each visit lasted about half an hour, and here they were entertained with tea, tobacco, and pastry. The latter they did not touch, but it was carried home by the prudent care of their interpreters.

On the subsequent day they paid their respects to the temple lords, as they are called, the two governors of the town, and the two commissaries for strangers.

On the 23d they had their audience of leave of the emperor and the hereditary prince. This was given in a very summary manner, and only before the lords of council appointed for that purpose. The following days were spent in giving and receiving presents, and in making preparations for their departure. At the audience of leave, a certain number of night-gowns, of the finest Japanese silk, intended for the Dutch East India Company, were delivered; but the presents destined for the embassy, were sent to the inn. Of the gowns, the ambassador retained four for himself, and gave two a-piece to his secretary and physician.

By the instructions our traveller's two favorite medical pupils had received, they were now advanced so far in the knowledge of the European practice of physic, as to be able to cure several patients by following its principles. About this time, M. Thunberg himself was asked his advice respecting some patient of great rank at the imperial court; but when he made enquiries as to age and sex, they affected great secrecy, and consequently it was not in his power to prescribe to his satisfaction. However, by means of the interpreters, and of his medical pupils, who had made most advances in physic, he at length ventured on a remedy, and his illustrious patient was soon restored to health.

So little are people of distinction in this country seen by strangers, and the personages composing the imperial family so little known, that there are very few people in the empire, who even know the emperor's name before his death.

M. Thunberg had brought a quantity of corrosive sublimate with him, and was anxious to introduce it in the cure of one of the most loathsome and disgraceful complaints to which mankind is subject. At first he was fearful of trusting his pupils with it; but when he was satisfied that they understood how to use it judiciously, he gave them liberty to try his efficacious reme-

dy, which soon had such effects in syphilitic complaints, that they were rather inclined to consider them as miracles than as the natural operation of medicines.

Indeed, the medical knowledge of the Japanese is very limited. They have no idea of anatomy, or of the circulation of the blood; and though they always spend much time in feeling the pulse of both arms, they seldom practise venesection. Our traveller, however, besides entrusting them with the administration of some efficacious medicines, made his beloved pupils a present of lancets, and other surgical instruments, which he thought might be beneficial to them and to mankind.

Before his departure, they requested a certificate of the proficiency they had made under his instructions; and when they obtained it, they seemed to feel as much pride as a new-made doctor. Indeed our traveller obtained their love and friendship to such a degree, that they lamented his approaching departure with the sincerest regret; and have since kept up a friendly intercourse with him by letters; and presents mutually acceptable have passed on both sides, from one extremity of the earth to the other.

As the city of Jedo was very large, so it was also proportionally populous, on account of the infinite number of strangers that flock to it from all parts of the country. Towards the streets there are always either work-shops, or ordinary sale-shops. These for the most part are screened from the view of passengers in the street by a cloth, so that the artisans cannot be seen; but the sale-shops exhibit patterns of the commodities they deal in.

The principal streets through which they had an opportunity of passing, were very long and broad, and made a handsome appearance. As there are neither thrones, jewels, nor other paraphernalia of state to distinguish the princes from the people, they have adopted the expedient of exhibiting themselves on festive occasions and on journies, according to their situation in life, and the dignity of their respective offices. But

as the best preservative against familiarity, which always lessens the reverence due to rank, they keep themselves in a great measure concealed from vulgar eyes.

The departure of the embassy from Jedo was finally fixed for the 25th of May, as the 30th was appointed by the reigning secular emperor, for his setting out on a journey to the temple of Nikô, which stands in a very large plain, thirty-six leagues to the east of Jedo, and which was to be the scene of much festivity. This journey had been in agitation for three years; and many preparations had been made for it, though it had been delayed from year to year. Now, however, it seemed determined that it should take place; for, at their departure, they saw several large parties, which formed the van of the emperor's procession. In the train of the innumerable multitude that was to accompany the Kubo, were to be, as the interpreters informed them, several old men, beggars, executioners, and even coffins, that nothing might be wanting which occasion might require.

They set out in the morning of the 25th, on their return from the capital to Nagasaki; and pursued nearly the same route as before, generally halting at the same inns to dine, sleep, or refresh themselves. Consequently, they saw few new objects; but having rather more liberty given them than in their progress towards the capital, they made more particular observations on some places through which they passed.

Having reached Miaco on the 12th of June, they were introduced to the grand marshal of the Dairi's court, who interchanged presents with them. In the afternoon of that day, M. Thunberg had a private visit from the ecclesiastical emperor's body physician, who brought with him several herbs just gathered, the virtues of which he was desirous to ascertain. They conversed by an interpreter; but when he found that our traveller was capable of writing down the name of a plant in Japanese characters, he was not a little surprised.

They had now permission to visit some of the principal temples of this city, which generally stand in

such situations as may command the most delightful prospects. Of all these religious structures, which are numerous here, that of Diabud is not only the largest, but the most remarkable. This temple stands on ninety-six pillars, and has several lofty, but narrow, entrances. The body of this pile consists, as it were, of two stories, which run into each other, and consequently have a double roof; the uppermost of which is supported by painted pillars about two yards in diameter.

The image of the idol Daibud, which stood in the middle of the temple, was, on account of its enormous size, enough to strike any spectator with terror and awe. This image was in a sitting posture, and raised about two yards from the ground, with its legs placed before it, in the Indian manner. The ears were pendulous, the hair was short and curling, the shoulders were naked, the body was covered with a wrapper, the right arm elevated, and the left laid edgeways against the belly. So enormous was the magnitude of this symbolical representation of the greatness of the deity, that six men might sit on the palm of its hand. This idol, as well as the sect that worships it, derive their origin from India, at some very remote period.

Our traveller's astonishment, at the contemplation of this enormous statue had not yet ceased, when he was carried to another temple, nearly as majestic and worthy of admiration. This was dedicated to Qwan-won, and his image, together with his dii minores, to the number, as it was said, of thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three, are arranged in twelve rows within its walls. These are of different magnitudes, and are placed according to their height, the smallest being in front, so that they may be all seen at one view.

They spent two days at Osaka, and had more pleasure and amusement at this place than during the whole of their journey besides; for here they had several times an opportunity of viewing the town in their norimons, and of attending plays, dances, and other festivities. The subject of their plays was generally

some love adventure, or heroic deed. The dancing was chiefly performed by children, and consisted principally in gesticulation.

But what M. Thunberg valued most, he had here an opportunity of viewing some curious and rare plants, some of which he purchased, particularly two specimens of the *Cycas revoluta*, a kind of palm, as scarce as it is valuable, and difficult to be procured. Here, likewise, he procured a quantity of Moxa, of two kinds, both of which are prepared from the woolly down of the *Artemisia vulgaris*, or common wormwood. In all the oriental regions, this is reckoned a specific, or universal medicine; but its best effects are seen in colds and rheumatisms.

That part of their expedition which was to be performed by sea, on this occasion, was quick and prosperous; and, on Midsummer-day, in the morning, they set out from Kokura on their way to Nagasaki.

In this journey they had frequent opportunities of witnessing one of the finest spectacles in nature in a summer's evening. At this season, myriads of the *Lampyrus Japonica* filled the air, or skimmed along the ground. This is an insect that has two bladders near its tail, which diffuse a bluish phosphoric light; and as it is a denizen of the sky, the whole horizon, in fine weather, seemed to be illuminated by innumerable glittering stars.

Before they entered Nagasaki, they were searched for prohibited goods; and our traveller was obliged to use all his ingenuity in saving the scarce coins and maps of the country, he had with so much difficulty procured. However, he came off safe; and on the 30th of June, they arrived at the factory, and were received with great joy by their friends, who began to grow anxious about their delay.

The empire of Japan consists of three large and many small islands. It extends from the 30th to the 41st deg. of north latitude, and from the 143d to the 161st degree of east longitude, from the meridian of Teneriffe.

Though most of the European nations call this

country Japan, the inhabitants give it the name of Nipon. The face of this empire is much diversified with mountains, hills, and valleys; nor is there much champaign to be seen. The coasts are environed by mountains, rocks, and a boisterous sea. The greatest part of its harbours are entirely unknown to the Europeans; and such as they have any acquaintance with, are generally full of rocks, shoals, sand, or mud; so that they are extremely dangerous and unsafe.

Several of the mountains are volcanoes; many are clothed with wood, and others again are cultivated up to the very top. In the valleys and plains the soil differs in different places; but most commonly it consists of clay or sand, intermixed with a small portion of mould.

In general it may be asserted that the soil of Japan is naturally steril; but in consequence of the infinite pains that are taken to improve it, and the advantages of its climate, it is rendered sufficiently fertile, and produces abundant crops.

The summer heats are very intense, and would be insupportable, if the air were not cooled by the winds from the sea. In like manner, the winter cold is extremely severe, when the wind blows from the north and north-east, piercing the body like arrows of ice.

Rains are very frequent, and to them may be in a great measure ascribed the fertility of the soil. Thunder is not unfrequent, and tempests, hurricanes, and earthquakes, are reckoned common visitations.

The greatest degree of heat our traveller observed at Nagasaki, was ninety-eight degrees in the month of August, and the severest cold thirty-five degrees in January in the morning; but the season he spent here was universally allowed to be milder than usual.

The Japanese are well made, active, easy in their motions, and stout limbed, though of inferior strength to the northern inhabitants of Europe. The men are of a middling size, and not much inclined to corpulency. Their skin is of a yellowish colour, sometimes bordering on brown, and sometimes on white, accord-

ing to their exposure to the effects of the sun. Ladies of distinction, who seldom go abroad without being covered from the sun and air, are perfectly white.

The distinguishing characteristic of the Japanese is their oblong, small, sunk eyes, in which respect they resemble the Chinese. Their eye-brows are also placed pretty high, and the eyelids form, in the great angle, a deep furrow. Their heads are generally large; their necks short; their hair black, thick, and glossy; and their noses, though not flat, are rather short and thick.

These people may, in general, be reckoned intelligent, brave, free, obedient, courteous, industrious, frugal, and upright; but, at the same time, those virtues are frequently tarnished by the opposite vices.

In all their enterprises, they shew sense and steadiness, as far as the lights they have received can be supposed to be able to guide them; and, instead of being ranked among savage nations, they must be allowed to have made very great advances in civilization. Their mode of government, their regulations for foreign commerce, their manufactures, and industry, evince proofs of policy, steadiness, and spirit. Far from indulging in the idle vanity of personal decorations, which, among some oriental nations, are most ridiculously tawdry, they study merely comfort and convenience, and leave glittering finery to the slaves of fashion or extravagance.

Liberty is the ruling passion of the Japanese; but it is liberty founded on order and secured by law; not the wild fire of anarchy and licentiousness. They are submissive to the laws, not to any arbitrary power; and they detest the inhuman traffic in slaves, which the Dutch and other nations carry on.

The rights and immunities of the higher and lower classes are equally protected; and the uncommon severity of the laws, joined to the certain execution of them, serves to keep every one within proper bounds. Even foreigners are secured in all their established rights; nor are there any fraudulent attempts, or open attacks, made on them, while they refrain from encroachments on the natives.

Some of the institutions of this empire are unparalleled in the whole world. It is death for a native to leave the empire; nor are any strangers suffered to come among them, save a few Dutch and Chinese, who are watched like state prisoners.

With respect to courtesy and submission to their superiors, few can be compared to the Japanese. Subordination to government, and obedience to their parents, are inculcated into children in their early infancy; and in every situation of life they are, in this respect, instructed by the example, rather than the severity, of their elders. Different modes of salutation are established between different ranks, and these are strictly and invariably attended to.

They carry their curiosity and inquisitiveness to a great length, which may be ascribed to their desire to obtain information. They frequently tire the Dutch with their questions, which, however, always display shrewdness and a love of knowledge. The physician, who attends the factory, is principally regarded by the Japanese as learned; and they consult him as an oracle, not only on subjects connected with his profession, but on every branch of science, which they presume he must be acquainted with.

Their fabrics in copper and other metals are beautiful, and in wood both neat and lasting. In particular, their well-tempered sabres and their beautiful lackered ware, exceed every thing of the kind that can be produced elsewhere. Their skill in agriculture, and the extent to which they carry it, are likewise so great as to be almost incredible.

Frugality seems to have fixed its residence in Japan. This is a virtue equally esteemed in the imperial palace as in the poorest cottage. It is in consequence of this that the lowest ranks are contented with their humble pittance, because they are not mortified with the sight of the accumulated stores of the rich dissipated in wantonness and luxury. In this populous empire, scarcely a beggar or a needy person is to be found.

Yet, in general, they are neither parsimonious nor

avaricious; and they have a rooted aversion to intemperance in eating and drinking. As the soil is solely devoted to the production of necessaries, so those necessaries are not wasted by converting them to noxious or idle purposes.

That they are friendly and good natured, when properly treated, our traveller had convincing proofs; even though they have too much reason to detest the Europeans, who traffic with them, for bad conduct and fraudulent dealings. They are lofty, it is true, and cannot be moved by menaces; but they may be soothed to tenderness by mild conduct, and brought to listen to reason.

Justice is universally worshipped, not in shew but in reality. The monarch never injures any of his neighbours; and no instance is to be found in which he ever shewed his ambition to extend his dominions by conquest. Numberless proofs are recorded of the heroism of the people against foreign invasion, or internal disorder; but not one can be produced of their encroachments upon the lands or properties of others.

The Japanese have never given way to the weakness of conquering other kingdoms, or of suffering any part of their own to be wrested from them. They pertinaciously adhere to their own customs and usages, and never adopt those of other nations.

In their tribunals, causes are adjudged without delay and without partiality. The guilty find no asylum; the innocent need no advocate. Even in their engagements with Europeans, not an iota of a treaty once concluded is ever altered, unless by the fault of the latter.

Thefts and robberies are seldom heard of; and in their annual journey to the court, the Europeans are so secure, that they have little occasion to pay any attention to their baggage. Yet it must be confessed, that in the factory the common people think it no sin to pilfer a few trifles from the Dutch; but this practice they have probably learned from themselves.

Superstition is one great defect in their character; but this is owing to their ignorance, not only of science,

but of true religion. It is the business of the priests, in every country, to render men weak, that they may rule them with more facility.

Pride is another great vice in this nation. They believe they are descended from the gods; and consequently hold Europeans in a very indifferent light compared to themselves. Touch their pride, and they are irreconcilable. It was pride that prompted them to expel the Portuguese; and this may tempt them to shut their ports against the rest of the world, should those who have an intercourse with them offend against their darling passion.

Of their valour and unconquerable spirit there are many proofs, and such as might be regarded as romantic, were they not verified by historical evidence.

In the year 799, the Tartars overrun a great part of Japan with an innumerable army; but their fleet having been lost in one night, in a violent storm, the Japanese commander, on the following day, attacked the invaders with such resolution, that not a man was left alive to return with the tidings of such an unparalleled defeat. In like manner, when they were again attacked by the Tartars, in 1281, with an army of two hundred and forty thousand men; the victory was equally great and glorious. The expulsion of the Portuguese, and the extirpation, at the same time, of the Christian religion, were so complete, that scarcely a trace of them now remains. The war and devastation continued for the space of forty years: several millions of victims fell; and the last siege cut off no fewer than thirty-seven thousand men.

These victories, however, are not the only proofs of the courage and intrepidity of the Japanese. The subsequent anecdote sets them in a still higher light. A Japanese vessel arrived at the island of Formosa, then in the hands of the Dutch, in 1630. Peter Nuytz, the governor, ill-treated the Japanese merchants; and upon their return home, they complained of the insults they had received

The prince took fire that his subjects should be



Kirk del.

Taylor sc.

Seizure of the Dutch Governor of Formosa
by the Japanese.

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abused by a people he despised. His guards immediately offered to retrieve the honour of their country. "Nothing," said they, "but the blood of the offender can efface this stain. Your majesty has only to command, and we will cut off his head, or bring him alive to receive the punishment due to his deserts. Seven of us will be sufficient for the enterprise; and neither the danger of the voyage, nor the strength of his castle, shall screen him from our vengeance."

Accordingly, having received the prince's permission, and concerted their measures, they proceeded to Formosa. Being introduced to the governor to have an audience, they all drew their sabres, and carried him on board the vessel that had brought them. This bold exploit was performed in broad day-light, in the sight of his guards and domestics, and without any one daring to rescue their master from his intrepid conductors; who, with their swords drawn, threatened to cleave his head in two, the moment the least opposition should be made.

When injured, the Japanese, indeed, are quite implacable. As they are haughty and intrepid, so they are resentful and unforgiving. They do not, however, shew their hatred by violence or warmth of temper; but, with an inconceivable sang froid, wait with patience for an opportunity of revenge.

Abuse them, despise them, or touch their honour, as much as you please, they will never answer a single word, but merely with a long Eh! Eh! testify, as it were, their surprise, and brood in silence over their revenge, which no justification, no length of time, nor change of circumstances, can afterwards efface, till they have executed their malice.

The Japanese language is written like the Chinese, in straight lines, upwards and downwards; but the letters are quite different; and the tongue on the whole so dissimilar, that those two neighbouring nations cannot understand each other without an interpreter. The Chinese language, however, is much read and written at Japan, and is used by the learned in

particular. Our traveller with great difficulty, and indeed, danger, as it is prohibited to learn Japanese, made some progress in the current tongue of this country, and even formed a vocabulary of some of its most usual colloquial terms.

The dress of Japan is perfectly national and uniform. From the monarch to the lowest subject, it has undergone no variation from caprice, fashion, or any other cause, for the space of two thousand five hundred years. It consists universally of long and wide night-gowns, of different lengths, according to sex or situation, and of different degrees of fineness, according to the circumstances of the wearer. The men seldom wear more than two or three of them at once; but the women have often thirty or forty of them, all so thin, as not to weigh more, collectively, than four or five pounds.

These gowns are fastened round the body by a belt, which, for the men, is about four inches broad, and for the women twelve inches, tied in a knot or rose. In this the males fasten their sabre, fan, tobacco-pipe and pouch, and sometimes their medicine box.

Men of high rank, besides these long night-gowns, have a short half gown worn over the other, and made of a thin gauzy stuff. This is tied with strings at top and at bottom, and is sometimes green, but more frequently black. The breeches are manufactured of a species of hemp, and are sewed between the legs, but left open on the sides to two-thirds of their length. They descend to the ankles; and at the back part of them is a thin triangular piece of board, covered with the same stuff which sticks up just above the band. These breeches are striped with brown, or green, or more commonly are uniformly black. Drawers are seldom used but on journeys, and by soldiers, who wear short tucked-up gowns, that they may run with the greater speed.

The complimentary dress is worn above the common gown. It consists of two pieces made of one and the same kind of stuff. The undermost piece is the above described breeches, made of a blue stuff, painted with

white flowers. The uppermost piece is a frock, like the half night-gown, thrown back over the shoulders.

Stockings are not wanted, because the night-gowns descend to the ankles; however, spatterdashes are sometimes used made of cotton stuff. The shoes are the meanest part of the Japanese attire, and they are generally made of rice straw; but people of distinction have fine slips of ratan. The Japanese never enter their houses with their shoes on, but always leave them at the door.

The mode in which this people dress the hair is peculiar to them, and at the same time as general as the use of the night-gown. The men shave the whole of their head, down to the nape of the neck, leaving, however, some on the temples, which being greased and turned back, is tied with that remaining behind at the top of the head, with several rounds of white string made of paper.

This coiffure is strickly attended to, and the head shaved daily. Priests, physicians, and youths before the age of maturity, are the only persons who are exempted from this custom. The two former shave their heads all over; and boys suffer their hair to grow, till such time as their beards begin to appear.

Of the fair sex, none have their hair cut off, except such as have parted with their husbands. They besmear their hair with oil and mucilaginous substances, and put it close up to the head, on all sides, in a neat and simple manner, or else spread it out on the sides like wings. After this the ends are fastened together round a knob at the crown of the head. Single women and maid-servants are frequently distinguished from the married by these wings. Just before the knob, a broad comb of lackered wood, or tortoise-shell, is stuck. They also sometimes wear other ornaments of tortoise-shell or flowers; but they neither use rings nor jewels of any kind.

The Japanese never cover their heads with hats or caps, except on journeys, when they wear a conical hat made of a species of grass, and tied on with a string.

Some few women, also, when travelling, wore a kind of cap interlaced with gold; but a parasol was their usual protection from the rain or the rays of the sun.

Instead of a handkerchief, they employ their soft writing paper, which they constantly carry about with them, and apply to various purposes which the Europeans never think of.

The houses in general are constructed of wood and plaster, and white-washed on the outside, so as to resemble stone. They have no partition-walls, but only sliding frames, which are made of lackered wood, and covered with thick painted paper. The roofs are covered with thick heavy tiles, and occasionally with the bark of trees or chips of wood.

The floors are always spread with mats made of a fine species of juncus, interwoven with rice straw. The insides of the houses, both ceiling and walls, are papered with various colours, and sometimes highly embellished with silver and gold.

The room which serves as the kitchen, has no other fire-place than a square hole, which is frequently in the middle of the room, and lined with a few stones. The smoke ascends through an aperture in the roof; for here chimneys are unknown.

The windows are formed of a semi-transparent paper, which has no very handsome effect; and in fact renders the houses rather gloomy and dull. Nor is the general style of architecture, in this country, either elegant or convenient, according to our ideas.

The furniture is as simple as the style of building.

Here are neither sofas, beds, tables, chairs, watches, nor mirrors. To the greatest part of those conveniences, the Japanese are perfect strangers. Their soft floor-mats serve them at once for chairs and beds. A small table, about twelve inches square, and four in height, is set down before each person in company, at every meal. A soft mattress, stuffed with cotton, is frequently spread upon the mats, when the hour of rest approaches.

Fans are universally used by both sexes; and on these they often have their route marked, when they go on a journey. Though they have not mirrors to decorate the walls of their apartments, at the toilette they use plates of copper and zinc, highly polished, which an-

swer the same purpose; and in these the fair sex can view their lovely persons almost as advantageously as in our more brittle article of glass.

Kuno, or the secular emperor, is lord of the whole country, and under him rules a prince or governor in each province. The princes that are first in dignity are called Daimio; those of an inferior rank Siomio. If any of them is guilty of misdemeanours, he is amenable to the emperor, who can dismiss him, banish him to some island, or even inflict capital punishment upon him. It is also incumbent on all those princes to perform a journey annually to the imperial court, to reside there six months, and to keep their family constantly there, as hostages for their allegiance.

But besides this monarch, there is a spirital or ecclesiastical emperor, whose power at present is wholly confined to the concerns of religion, and the establishment of the church; nevertheless, this spirital regent or pope derives his descent in a direct and uninterrupted line from the ancient rulers of the country, for more than the period of two thousand years.

The veneration which is paid to the Dairi falls little short of the divine honours due to the gods themselves. He seldom touches the earth. He is brought in the world, lives, and dies, within the precincts of his court. His hair, nails, and beard, are esteemed so sacred, that they are never suffered to be cleaned or cut by day-light, but only in the night, and when he is asleep. His holiness never eats out of the same plate, nor drinks out of the same cup; and they are constantly broken to pieces, that they may not fall into unhallowed hands.

Within the precincts of his court scarcely any know his name till after his decease. His whole court, with very few exceptions, are of his own race; all of whom, who are not promoted at the secular court, have rich benefices and convents given them.

Yet the Dairi's power is much retrenched; and he now derives his principal revenues from the city and district of Mico, from a stipulated allowance from the Kubo's treasury, and from titles which he has the ex-

clusive right of conferring. Even the secular emperor receives titles of distinction from his hand.*

The Kubo, or secular emperor, is obliged to consult a council of six persons, who are mostly men in years, and possessed of sound judgment. Besides the considerable presents he receives from the governors of provinces, he has certain crown lands and imperial cities, which are more particularly his property; and their native produce or manufacture is taxed to his revenue. In the same manner each of the princes derives a tribute from his respective province, with which he maintains his household troops, defrays the expenses of keeping the roads in repair, and supports his family in the necessary style of dignity.

The aggregate revenue of Japan amounts to at least 44,400,000,000 sacks rice, each sack weighing upwards of twenty pounds; a prodigious income, even at the lowest price at which rice can be estimated.

The military weapons of Japan consist of bows, arrows, cymetars, halberts, and guns. Their bows are very large, and their arrows long. Firelocks are not in common use in the army; they are chiefly possessed by persons of consequence, and are always displayed in their apartments on an elevated stand. They have a few cannons at Nagasaki, and at the imperial palace at Jedo. These seem to have been formerly taken from the Portuguese, and are only used in saluting; or perhaps are neglected for seven years together.

The cymetar is the chief and choicest weapon, and this is constantly worn by every person above the rank of a peasant. This weapon is about a yard in length, somewhat inclining to a curve, and has a broad back. The blade is of incomparable good temper, and the oldest are always most valued. They are far preferable to the Toledos, and will cut a large nail without turning

* As the expenses of many of the European governments render it difficult to contrive new schemes of finance, might not the avowed sale of titles for the life of the receiver be a valuable branch of revenue? We are at least as vain as the Japanese.

the edge. According to the Japanese accounts, they will cleave a man asunder from head to foot.

A good cymetar is frequently sold for one hundred rix-dollars, and it is considered by the natives as the most precious part of their property. The hilt is furnished with a round and substantial guard, without any bow, and is full six inches long. The scabbard is thick and rather flat; and sometimes covered with the finest shagreen lackered. They never use an appropriate belt; but always stick the cymetar into their girdle on the left side, with the edge upwards, which looks ridiculous enough.

Paganism is universally prevalent in Japan; but the different religious sects are numerous, and maintain very opposite tenets; notwithstanding this, they live together in great harmony and concord, nor consider difference of opinion as a cause of dissention. The ecclesiastical emperor appoints the principal priests; and every sect has its respective temples and idols.

The number of these fictitious deities is so great, that almost every trade has its tutelary divinity, after the manner of the ancient Greeks and Romans. The Japanese, however, are not wholly ignorant of the existence of an eternal, omnipotent Spirit, supreme in power and might; but their knowledge, in this respect, is blended with fable, and obscured by mystery.

Their temples, of which they have a great variety, are generally built in the suburbs of towns, on the highest and most eligible spots. The priests in each are very numerous, though they perform scarcely any other functions than to keep the temple clean, to light the fires and lamps, and to present the blameless offerings of flowers to their idols. No sermons are preached, no hymns are sung; but such as please to pay their devotions, are at all times welcome to approach, and to leave their offerings.

Even strangers are not forbidden to enter the sanctuaries of their religion; and when there is a difficulty in procuring other lodgings, they may be accommodated in them.

The two predominant religions in Japan, are the Sinto and Budsto. The former is the most ancient, though its adherents are not so numerous as those of the latter. The doctrine of the Sinto was originally simple and noble, before it was adulterated by many foreign and superfluous ceremonies. Its adherents acknowledge and believe in a Supreme Being, who inhabits the highest heavens; but they likewise admit inferior or subaltern divinities. Their adoration, therefore, has for its object, the inferior ministers of his power, which, according to their creed, exercise dominion over the earth, the water, and the sky; and have the destinies of men in their hands.

They have also some confused notions of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state of rewards and punishments. According to their tradition, the souls of the virtuous have a place assigned them immediately under heaven, while those of the wicked are doomed to wander to and fro under the cope and canopy of heaven, in order to expiate their sins. Consequently the transmigration of souls has no place in their faith.

The whole tenor of their doctrine has no other object than to render mankind virtuous in this life: their chief and universal care is, to preserve a good conscience, and to pay due obedience to the laws of their sovereign. They abstain from animal food, are loth to shed blood, and will not touch any dead body. Whoever offends in these points, is considered as unclean for a certain period, according to the Levitical law.

The only devils they acknowledge, are those which reside as souls in foxes; these animals being considered as very noxious and dangerous in this country.

Though the professors of this religion are persuaded that their gods know all things, and that therefore it is unnecessary to pray to them, they have, nevertheless, both churches and stated holidays. Their gods, or idols, they denominate Sin, or Kami; and the churches are called Mia. In these edifices there is no visible representation of the Almighty, though they sometimes

keep a little image in a box, the emblem of the inferior divinity to whom the temple is dedicated.

Budsto's doctrine was imported hither from the western coast of the East Indies; and without doubt he was a prophet among the Bramins, who is reported to have been born in Ceylon, about one thousand years before the birth of Christ, and was the founder of that sect, which has diffused itself over every part of the east.

This doctrine, however, did not gain repute in China till long after its introduction. By degrees it reached Corea, and then passed over into Japan, where it was generally received; and, being blended with that of the ancient Sinto, gave birth to the most monstrous and absurd superstitions.

Its principal tenets consist in the subsequent maxims: that the souls of men and beasts are alike immortal; that a just retribution of rewards and punishments immediately takes place after death; that there are different degrees of felicity as well as of misery; that the souls of the wicked transmigrate, after death, into the bodies of animals; and at last, in case of amendment, again reanimate the human form. To the Supreme God they give the appellation of Amida, and satan is called Jemma.

The usual holidays in Japan are the first day of every month, when they rise early in the morning, dress themselves in their best attire, and pay their respects to their friends and superiors, wishing them joy of the new month. This custom has been universally observed from the earliest ages. The full of the moon, or the 15th day, is another holiday, on which people resort to the temples in greater numbers than on the first. The third festival is of less consequence, and falls on the 28th, or the day before the new moon.

Besides these monthly festivals, they celebrate five more, and the first and principal of these is New Year's Day. The country at this time is given up to pastime and festivity; and indeed the whole of the first month is set apart for pleasures throughout the empire.

The second annual festival falls on the 3d day of

the 3d month; the 3d, on the 5th day of the 5th month; the 4th, on the 7th day of the 7th month; and the 5th, on the 9th day of the 9th month. All these making uneven numbers are reckoned unlucky days, and no business is undertaken on them, but they spend them in mirth and mutual congratulations. It is a maxim among them; that the gods take delight in seeing mankind joyful and happy; and in this respect they honour their benignity and other lovely attributes.

To some of the most celebrated temples, pilgrimages are annually performed, particularly to the temple of Isie, which is consecrated to Tensio Dai Sin, the most ancient of their gods. This temple is very old, and has no other ornaments than a mirror, and slips of white paper, hung about the walls, denoting that nothing impure can be acceptable to God; and that from his all-seeing eye nothing can be hid.

The emperor, who cannot personally visit this temple, annually sends an ambassador in his stead; and all his subjects, of every rank and condition, are bound to undertake a pilgrimage hither at least once in their lives; though many, from a principle of devotion, go often. Some of those pilgrims practise great austerities.

Nunneries have been established in this country upwards of one thousand years ago, though, with respect to number, they fall infinitely short of those in Europe.

The Christian religion was first planted in Japan by the Jesuit missionaries in 1549, and in a short time made a rapid progress. But the Portuguese, inflated with their success, and relying on the number of their proselytes, began to behave with pride and avarice, which occasioned different persecutions; and in 1596, having superciliously treated a prince of the empire, their doom was sealed; and they were not only extirpated themselves, but all their converts were put to the sword, after an unceasing persecution of forty years.

The Japanese being persuaded that the unwarrantable conduct of the Christians, was the inseparable consequence of their doctrines, took, for that time, the most efficacious means to prevent the true faith from

ever being re-established in their dominions, and the Portuguese were forbid from ever approaching their coasts. It seems, the Portuguese, indeed, richly merited their fate; for it afterwards appeared, that they had entered into a conspiracy against the emperor and government. This being discovered by the Dutch, then at war with them, and communicated to the imperial court, gained that nation the establishment they have since enjoyed.

Philosophers and moralists are regarded in this country in the same light as priests and sacred persons; and their tenets are embraced with equal ardor with those of the spiritual sects. The morality of Confucius is high in estimation. This, it is well known, originated in China, and seems to resemble the ancient doctrines of Epicurus.

The Japanese not only make use of such articles for food, as are in themselves wholesome and nutritive, but take in almost the whole animal and vegetable kingdom; not excepting the most poisonous, which by their mode of dressing and preparing, may be rendered harmless, and even useful. The meat that is served up in every dish is cut into small pieces, well boiled and stewed, and mixed with agreeable sauces.

Ladies do not eat with the men, but by themselves. Rice supplies the place of bread, and is boiled with every kind of provisions. Miso-soup, boiled with fish and onions, is the customary food of the common people. Misos are small beans, like lentils, the produce of the *dolichos soja*. Fish and fowls are very plentiful, and are eaten in abundance. Even the flesh of the whale is a common dish among the poorer people.

Tea and sakki constitute the whole beverage of the Japanese. Wines and distilled liquors they can scarcely be prevailed on to taste. Hitherto they have never suffered themselves to be corrupted by European modes of living, but still retain their original temperance and frugality.

Sakki is a kind of fermented liquor, prepared from rice. It is tolerably bright, and not a little resembles

wine, though its taste is somewhat singular, and not very palatable. When fresh, it is whitish, but afterwards, it acquires a brown colour from lying in wooden casks.

This drink is vended in every tavern, and is used to promote hilarity as well as at meals. It is always drank warm by the Japanese, and when taken in any quantity, soon heats and inebriates them; but its effects vanish in a few minutes, and are generally succeeded by a disagreeable head-ach.

Sakki is transported to Batavia as an article of commerce; but there it is drank cold, before meals, to provoke an appetite.

Tea is in such universal use, that no person of any rank undertakes a journey, without a servant to carry his tea-equipage. The tea-shrub is indigenous here, and is met with most frequently on the borders and margins of cultivated lands, or on such mountains and downs as are incapable of being cultivated to better advantage.

This plant grows from the seed to the height of a man in six or seven years; but in the third year begins to yield some leaves. There are annually three harvests of this plant. The first is, when the leaves just begin to push forth, and possess a viscous quality. This forms the imperial tea, and is only accessible to people of high rank. The second harvest commences about a month after the first, when the leaves are full spread, but still tender and well-flavoured. The third and principal harvest is of the thick and strong leaves, which have arrived at full maturity...

Though gravity forms the general character of this nation, they have, nevertheless, their pleasures, their sports, and festivities. Some of these are connected with their religion, others may in many respects be compared to European plays or interludes.

Of those which have a relation to their religious belief, the lanthorn-festival, or feast of lamps, is one of the most remarkable. It is celebrated towards the end of August, and lasts for three days. The Japanese call it Bang; and it was originally instituted in memory

and honour of the dead, who, they believe, return annually to their kindred and friends, on the first afternoon of these games, where they remain till the second night, on which they are again sent away.

To welcome them on their arrival, they hang a number of lamps round the tombs on bamboo stakes; and when the souls of the defunct are to take their leave, they fabricate a small vessel of straw, filled with lights and lanthorns, which they carry at midnight in procession, with music and loud cries, and launch it on the waves, where it is left to be consumed or swallowed up.

Our traveller had an opportunity of seeing plays acted several times, both in Nagasaki and afterwards on his journey to the imperial court at Osaka. The actors are always dressed in a very grotesque manner, so that a stranger would be apt to imagine, they exhibited themselves to frighten, not to entertain, the audience. Their gestures are equally uncouth and extravagant; and the plots are of a piece with the acting. In short the dramatic performances of Japan can, in no respect, be put in competition with those of Europe. But they have the same effect, and answer the same purpose every where—to amuse the idle and frivolous, and to fill the pockets of the players.

When the Japanese wish to shew the Dutch extraordinary respect, they entertain them with a band of female dancers. These are generally young damsels, who twist and twine their bodies in a variety of forms, so as to represent an amorous or heroic deed. Their steps are regulated by music, and they are all provided with a vast number of night-gowns, which they strip off one after the other, till a dozen or more are hanging from their gridle.

Marriages are solemnized here with little pomp, and generally on an eminence without the towns, in the presence of the relations and priests. The bridegroom and bride advance together to an altar erected for that purpose, each holding a torch, while the priest is employed in reading a certain form of prayer. The bride then lights her torch, and holds it out to the bride-

groom, who kindles his from it; and on this the guests wish the new-married couple joy.

Polygamy is not allowed here, nor are the women confined; but divorces and mistresses, or concubines, are tolerated.

The Japanese either burn their dead or bury them in the earth. The former seems to have been the most ancient practice, though it is now less prevalent than the other, except for persons of distinction. The ashes are carefully collected, and after some time are buried in the earth.

Both men and women follow the corpse in norimons, together with the family of the deceased, and a numerous train of priests. After one of the priests has sung the eulogy of the dead, he thrice waves a burning torch over the corpse, with which the pile is then set on fire by the relations. Fragrant spices are cast into the grave, and the finest flowers are planted on the tombs. Indeed the affectionate concern of children and relatives does not cease for years; and sometimes it lasts for life. This is an amiable trait in the character of the Japanese; for where the dead are not honoured, there the living are far from being humane.

Though the Japanese have made as much progress in science as can be expected from the opportunities they have been favoured with, it is not to be expected that they have reached the heights of Europeans in this respect. Astronomy is in great favour and repute, but they cannot compose a perfect kalendar, nor calculate eclipses with precision.

Medicine, from their ignorance of anatomy, can never become very flourishing. Of natural philosophy and chemistry they have little idea, except what they have borrowed from casual intercourse with the medical practitioners of Europe.

No nation on earth has a smaller code of laws and fewer judges, consequently the study of law is not very difficult. Commentators on the statutes and advocates are here totally unknown. Yet the laws are severe, and executed without the least respect for persons.

The original language of the country is at once copious and expressive. Of foreign languages, only the Chinese is studied; and this only by the literati. The art of printing is unquestionably very ancient in Japan; but they are still unacquainted with the use of fusible types. They have also some notion of engraving, drawing, and surveying; but in all those respects they are much inferior to the Europeans.

Poetry is a favourite study, and it is employed; as in other countries, to perpetuate the memory of their gods, heroes, and celebrated men. Music is held in high estimation; but they have not been able to make much proficiency in the science of harmony. The ladies perform on different instruments but are particularly fond of a kind of lute, with four strings, which they strike with their fingers for hours together, though neither the effect nor the execution is very charming.

Some of the arts and manufactures are carried to the highest degree of perfection in Japan. They work extremely well in iron and copper: their silk and cotton manufactures equal, if not excel, the productions of other oriental countries.

Lackering in wood, especially their ancient workmanship, surpasses every attempt at imitation by other nations. They make use of the finest firs and cedars, and cover them with a varnish prepared from the rhus vernix, which grows every where in abundance. This varnish oozes out from the tree, on its being wounded, and at first is about the consistence of cream, but afterwards grows thicker. It is of such a transparent nature, that when it is laid, pure and unmix'd, on boxes and other pieces of furniture, every vein of the wood may clearly be seen through.

This lackered work is generally farther embellished with gold and silver flowers, and figures laid on the varnish. Old works of this kind, in good preservation, fetch a very high price, as it seems they neither emboss nor colour so well as in former ages. Thus it is too with the porcelain of China; the most ancient is the most valuable.

Paper is fabricated here from the bark of the *morus papyrifera*, a species of mulberry, and sometimes from the *morus indica*. In Japan, paper is used for a variety of purposes not usual in other countries, particularly for handkerchiefs; consequently its manufacture must be very considerable.

If the laws in this country are rigid, the police is equally vigilant, and discipline and good order are strictly observed. The happy consequence of this is extremely visible; for no country affords fewer instances of vice or irregularity.

Most crimes are punished with death, a sentence which is inflicted with less regard to the magnitude of the crime, than to the audacity of the attempt to transgress the hallowed laws of the empire, and to violate justice.

Fines and pecuniary mulcts they regard as equally repugnant to reason and equity, as the rich are thereby absolved from all punishment, a procedure which seems to them to be the very height of absurdity and iniquity. If the horrid crime of murder is perpetrated in town, not only the murderer himself, but sometimes his relations, dependents, and neighbours, are involved in the calamity, according as they have been more or less accomplices in the crime, or have neglected the means of preventing its perpetration.

Dealing in contraband goods is death without mercy; and the punishment extends to every individual concerned in the traffic, both buyer and seller. The general mode of executing the sentence of the law, is by decapitation with a cymetar, in prison; though crucifixion, and other painful modes of death, are sometimes exhibited in public, by way of terror.

Those whose offences are reckoned too venial to deserve death, are sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, or else banished to some distant island: and in either case, their whole property is confiscated.

It appears that there are some laws which do not specify the punishment for infringing them; and that for many crimes the consequences are not generally

known. This puts them on their guard against the commission of offences; since what is doubtful is always magnified more than what is ascertained. However, that no person may plead ignorance of the laws, they are not only promulgated in the temples, but also posted up in every town and village, for public inspection and daily perusal.

Directions for what ought, and what ought not to be done, are drawn up in a very concise manner, without specifying the punishment annexed to disobedience, or adding any menaces, so frequent in the laws of Europe.

Imperfect as the science of medicine is in Japan, it has several distinct professors. Some occupy themselves wholly in the cure of internal disorders; some practice surgery; others only burn with moxa; and puncturing with a needle forms another branch of the healing art.

The most frequent diseases are cholics, sore eyes, indurated glands, diarrhoeas, dysenteries, miliary eruptions, small-pox, and measles. The miliary eruption, termed by the Europeans the red dog, is very rife here in the hottest months. It appears above the surface of the skin, rough, and of a red colour, without fever. Sometimes it is attended with intolerable itching, when the patient is in motion; but which sensation ceases the moment he is at rest.

No country presents more proofs of agricultural skill and industry; and yet neither rewards nor encouragements are necessary. In Japan, the tillers of the ground are considered as the most useful class of citizens, and they are treated accordingly. They neither groan under oppressions, nor do they labour for others. The imposts indeed are pretty heavy, but they are paid in kind; and the farmer is at full liberty to cultivate the soil in that manner which he conceives will be most advantageous to him. He is not pestered with mixed property, nor incommoded by Gothic rights of commonage.

One law, however, is singular. All are bound to cultivate their land; and if a husbandman leaves more

than the stated quantity of his farm unsown, he forfeits his fields, and another is at liberty to occupy them.*

Rice is their principal corn. Wheat, barley, and rye, are little used. Among the esculent rooted vegetables, batatas are the most abundant and palatable. They have many kinds of beans and peas, and also of alliaceous plants, turnips, and cabbages. From the seeds of the latter they express an oil for their lamps.

Buck-wheat (*polygonum fagopyrum*) is most commonly used when ground to meal, and made into small cakes; which, after being boiled and sometimes coloured, are baked and sold in the villages, and at the baiting places, at a very cheap rate.

As in this extensive empire there is no tallow to be found, nor any butter is churned, the inhabitants have turned their attention to supply the place of these articles, by using sweet oils, both for dressing victuals, and for lighting their houses.

They have few quadrupeds, for which reason there is little occasion for meadow land. Their horses are small-sized, and not very numerous. Of oxen and cows they have still a smaller number, and they neither make use of their flesh nor milk; the sole use of them being to draw carts, or occasionally to plough.

A very few swine, of the Chinese breed, are kept here. Sheep and goats are not to be found in the whole country. Dogs, however, are kept from superstitious motives; and cats are the general favourites of the ladies. Domestic poultry are plentiful, and much valued on account of their eggs, which are dressed in a great variety of ways.

That the precious metals are to be found in abundance in this empire, is well known both to the Portuguese and Dutch, who formerly exported whole ship-loads of them. Gold is found in several parts; but that it may not lose its value, by being too plentiful,

* In England, where the monopoly of land is become so destructive to the interests and happiness of the people, we should not be sorry to see this wise law of Japan introduced.

it is prohibited to dig more more than a certain stated quantity; and none can be exported either in bullion or in coin.

The richest gold mine is to be found on the largest of the Nipon islands, near Sado. The next most valuable is in Surunga. Considerable quantities of this precious metal are also extracted from cupreous pyrites, dissolved by brimstone.

Silver seems to be less plentiful than it certainly was at one time; and it is more esteemed, according to their comparative values, than gold, which is so much more abundant.

Copper is common in every part of the empire; and being richly impregnated with gold, it constitutes the main source of the wealth of many provinces. It still is exported in considerable quantities by the Dutch and Chinese.

Iron is far from being common in Japan. It is found, however, in some provinces; but they are neither fond of exporting or importing this metal, at least for sale.

As their intercourse with foreigners is extremely limited, the greatest part of their commerce must be amongst themselves. Their inland trade is very flourishing, and in every respect free and uncontrouled. The harbours are covered with coasting vessels and boats, and the high roads are crowded with travellers, transporting their wares from one place to another.

Though merchants frequently accumulate great wealth, their profession is never reckoned honourable; nor can they purchase titles, or raise themselves to a higher rank. On the contrary, they are always despised, and the public at large entertain the most contemptible opinion of them, under the impression that their wealth has been procured at the expense of their fellow citizens. This shews a narrow way of thinking; for in the most enlightened nations, the character of a merchant is always the highest.

The coins used in this country are of various denominations; such as New Kobangs, Old Kobangs, Itjibs,

Nandiogin, Itaganne, Kodama, Seni, Kosju, Kin, and Gomome Gin. They are generally simple and unadorned, and the greatest part of them have no rim round the margin, and many have no determined value, so that it is necessary to weigh them.

The Obang is the largest Japanese gold coin, and ought rather to be considered as a medal than a piece of money. It is a flat, oblong plate of gold, rounded off at the four corners, nearly of the thickness of a farthing: and is stamped on one side with fine lines, and different impressions of the Dairi's arms. On the other side are inscribed several large black letters, authenticating the genuineness of the coin.

Among the silver coins, the Kodama is the most variable, as well with respect to its shape and size, as to the impression it bears. Of this coin, some are oblong, circular, spherical, convex, and flat. Sometimes they are stamped with more, sometimes with fewer, letters; and occasionally they only bear the image of Daikokf, the Plutus of Japan, or the merchant's god. He is represented sitting on two barrels of rice, with a hammer in his right hand, and a sack at his left. The Japanese believe him to be invested with the power of producing, in any spot which he strikes with his hammer, whatever his divinity is for the moment disposed to have.*

Having arranged his collections, and informed himself respecting the country, M. Thunberg, during a very hot summer, which succeeded his return to the factory, employed his time in making several excursions during this season of flowers; and had the pleasure to find his toils more amply rewarded than during the preceding autumn and winter.

Among other beautiful or curious plants which he found here, he particularizes the *lilium superbum*, one

* By the favours of one of the interpreters, our traveller procured a series of the ancient coins of Japan, some of them upwards of a thousand years old, which at his return to his native country, he presented to the valuable collection of his Swedish majesty at Drottningholm.

of the most elegant flowers in the world; the camellia sasanqua, a shrub very nearly resembling tea; the arum esculentum, and many others.

On the 13th of September, intelligence was brought that the prince of Owari, cousin-german to Kubo, had departed this life. On account of this event, orders were issued that no person should play upon any kind of instrument for the space of five days, the usual period of deep mourning. The prince was turned of forty. Some years before, he had been designated for the emperor's son-in-law; but his ill stars had decreed, that the day before his arrival at Jedo, his intended bride should pay the last debt of nature.

On the 10th of October, the newly-arrived governor of Nagasaki reviewed the imperial guard in the harbour; and after paying a visit to the Dutch admiralship, proceeded to the island of Dezima, accompanied by the gentleman who was retiring from office.

The Dutch cargoes being nearly completed, our traveller began to reflect on his future plan of proceedings. Having little reason to hope that he could make any considerable additions to his favourite study, by staying another season, he formed the firm resolution of returning to Batavia. The new chief of the factory, indeed, first endeavoured to prevail on him, by offers of advantage, to remain here another season, and at last to attempt compulsion; but neither could influence him to relinquish the hopes of being able to examine, without controul, the multifarious treasures of nature in some other country.

Every thing being ready, they bade farewell to the Island of Dezima on the 23d of November, and embarked on board the admiral's ship, called the *Stavenisse*. On the 3d of December they got under way, with the *Zeeduyn* in company, and soon lost sight of Japan. The lading in each ship consisted chiefly of six thousand seven hundred and fifty pickels of copper, and three hundred and sixty-four barrels of camphor, each barrel containing upwards of one hundred and twenty pounds.

After a prosperous voyage, they arrived at Batavia on the 4th of January, 1777, when M. Thunberg immediately waited on his friend Dr. Hoffman, who again made him an offer of his house. He then began to enquire after his former friends and acquaintances, and found that many of them had left this transitory state. As an irrefragible proof of the mortality of this climate, he mentions that of thirteen persons, with whom he dined immediately before his departure to Japan, only two were now alive.

Having paid his devoirs to his particular friends and patrons who were alive, particularly to his benefactor, M. Radermacher, of whom he speaks in the highest terms of panegyric, it was his next care to examine the various articles which he had left in care of his host, stowed in a capacious chest, placed on bottles to save it from the damp. How great was his confusion and surprise, to discover, on opening this depository of many hours toil and application, that the greater part of the herbs he had formerly collected in Java, together with a number of books, were perfectly rotten and moulded away! Such is the noxious moisture of this ungenial climate, that it is almost impossible to preserve any thing in it, without frequent attention to airing and drying.

Yet insalubrious as the climate is, especially in the city of Batavia, the Europeans, with very few exceptions, lead here very irregular lives. At dinner they inflame their blood with ale and wine; and while they are smoking tobacco, they enlarge their doses of those liquors. In the afternoon they sleep for a few hours; and then spend the evening in company, with ale, wine, cards, and tobacco. In short, they continue their potations till they are half drunk, weary, and drowsy; when they at length retire to bed, where they have naturally to expect a restless sleep, and a comfortless repose.

After having examined the various productions of nature in the environs of Batavia, our traveller sailed to Samarang, along the northern coast of Java, that he might inspect the interior of this incomparable island.

He landed at that place on the 9th of April, and soon after was attacked with a tertian ague, whose paroxysms he conquered by extract of bark. Scarcely was he recovered from his febrile debility, when he undertook a journey one hundred and eighty miles up into the country, in company with Dr. Boenneken, physician to the hospital at Samarang.

On the 23d, they commenced this botanical expedition on horseback, passing Unarang, Salatiga, and Kopping. In their way, they saw the Indian fig-tree, so remarkable for the manner of its growth, and the extent of ground it covers. They likewise met with a new species of stinging plant, to which M. Thunberg gave the name of *Urtica stimulans*. The touch of this is attended with such violent effects, as to cause an inflammation of the skin, to the last degree painful and irritating. Even animals, when stung with it, become quite wild and outrageous.

On the 28th, they reached a Javanese village called Tundang. It is pretty large, and is constructed of bamboo canes, which allow a free passage for the air. Instead of taking up their lodgings with the natives, they had a hut built for themselves, which was executed by some of their attendants with incredible expedition. By the time they could unsaddle their horses and unpack their things, their house was not only entirely finished, but also furnished with a couch, three stools, and a table, all manufactured on the spot. Some of the Javanese were employed in cutting bamboos, others with two strokes made a hole in the side of the larger canes, into which they inserted the smaller, and after this, twigs were interwoven between; so that in a few minutes the whole was completed, of rude workmanship, it is true, but grateful enough to weary travellers.

Here they were entertained with Javanese dancing and music, which lasted some time. The jovial scene and spectacle of mirthful amusement would have given them extreme satisfaction, had they not been pestered by the gnats in such a manner as to embitter all their pleasures.

On the 1st of May, they returned to Samarang, when M. Thunberg made a report to the governor, at his particular request, of such plants as grew in the track they had visited, that might be beneficial in medicine.

At this place too he couched two persons for cataracts in both eyes, with the happiest success, though both were far advanced in years. A German surgeon, however, about the middle age, being totally blind from the same melancholy cause, could not be prevailed on to submit to the operation, though the governor urged him in the most friendly manner, and even offered one hundred ducatoons for his cure.

May 14th, M. Thunberg proceeded in a Dutch ship for Japara, where he was inexpressibly well received and befriended by M. Vauder Beek, the residentiary at that delightful place. In a few days he prosecuted his journey on horseback to Juana, where a ship was lying bound to Batavia. In his way thither he lodged with a prince nearly allied to the emperor, with whom he had the honour of supping, and of keeping up a conversation in broken Malay, till late at night.

After a prosperous voyage, our traveller again arrived at Batavia. Being determined to embrace the first opportunity of visiting Ceylon, and no ship being yet ready to sail for that island, with the permission of the governor, he planned an expedition to the Warm Baths and the Blue Mountains, in company with Baron Von Wurmband, an officer.

On the 19th of June, they set out, and passing Tanjung, and some other places, they came to Buytenzorg, a handsome pleasure seat of the governor-general; but little used, because of its distance from the capital.

On the 22d, they travelled over high mountains to Chipannas, and viewed the warm bath, which rises in a valley, and has its sources covered with a hut. There are also two apartments for the use of bathers. The water was hot, though not intolerably so; and on its sides was a thin crust of a deep green hue, resembling verdigrise. The surrounding earth was of the colour of iron rust.

This water is aperient, if taken internally; but it is chiefly used for bathing. The climate here is very fine, and agreeably refreshing, from its elevated situation, though it lies nearly under the equator.

Here M. Thunberg discovered a variety of curious plants and animals. In returning over the mountains to Pondogedé, they stopped to visit the celebrated pool of water near Mehemedon, where they found the climate of the north of Europe, and mosses and lichens, scarcely ever to be seen in the warmer parts of India.

The following day they travelled to Arkidomas, to view some Javanese idols, hewn in stone, and dispersed about the woods, in groups of three or four. Both the natives and the Chinese sacrifice to them; but on what pretext we are not told.

In this route they saw many wild peacocks, flying from tree to tree, and spreading their beautiful fans. Tigers are said to be very numerous and fierce here; for which reason, two soldiers incessantly blew small French horns, in order to frighten them away.

On the 25th, they made a diversion from the straight road to Mount Cherraton, which stands quite detached, almost in the centre of the country, and has many singular natural cavities, in which the swallows (*hirundo esculenta*) build their nests. These nests are of a gelatinous nature, and are highly esteemed among the luxurious. The natives made them a present of some of these edible nests, and likewise of two of the birds that produce them, which are small, and wholly black.

Here they were superbly entertained by the Javanese governor of the province at dinner, and kept up some kind of conversation in Malay, which the whole party imperfectly understood.

Soon after they returned to Batavia, where our traveller was afterwards very assiduous in his visits to the hospital, in which numbers died, notwithstanding the best medical care. In fact, the mortality at Batavia has been gradually increasing, which is supposed to originate from the number and the filthiness of the canals.

M. Radermacher and Dr. Hoffman endeavoured to prevail on M. Thunberg to settle in this country, by the most flattering views of interest; but though the climate did not disagree with him, and he had, at that time, no particular prospects in his native land, he was deaf to every representation that had for its object to detach him from the country that gave him birth.

After taking an affectionate leave of his friends at Batavia, he embarked on board a ship bound to Ceylon, in the capacity of surgeon; and, on the 7th of July, they got under weigh with a soft and prosperous wind, which brought them in sight of that island on the 29th of August. In sailing up to Columbo, the ship had a very narrow escape from being run on the shoals, through the ignorance and indecision of the captain.

M. Thunberg, having got safe on shore, paid his respects to Governor Falck, a very learned and sensible man, at the same time possessed of a liberal spirit. He had likewise an introduction to M. Van Sluysken, inspector of the cinnamon trade, who commonly went by the name of Captain Cinnamon, and who treated him with much regard. And he had farther the good fortune to find here two of his own countrymen, who bore honourable offices under the Dutch company. It is almost unnecessary to add, that they received him with affectionate regard.

Columbo, the Dutch capital of this island, is large and handsome, and well fortified. The governor's palace is very elegant and spacious, though it is no more than one story high.

The climate is naturally as hot as Batavia; but the country, being more elevated, is far from more agreeable, and favourable to health.

Our traveller, in company with a Ceylonese, whom the governor had kindly appointed to attend him, made daily excursions in the vicinity of Columbo, and collected diligently the various productions of the spot, which were sufficiently interesting to repay the toils he endured in their search.

Among other plants, the *dolichos pruriens*, celebrated as a vermifuge, was pretty common, as was that beautiful vegetable, the *Barringtonia*, which loves the banks of streams.

It is reasonable to suppose, that the most valuable plant of Ceylon, the tree that produces the cinnamon, did not escape his particular investigation. It is the *laurus cinnamomum*, and rises to a middling height and size. This tree is distinguished from the *laurus cassia*, which seems to be a variety of it, by having broader and more obtuse leaves.

The chief difference, however, between the tree that yields the cinnamon and the cassia, may be ascribed to soil and cultivation. Our botanist, who was well qualified to judge, does not consider them as distinct species.

For a number of years the Europeans believed, and the Ceylonese maintained, that cinnamon, to be good, must be left to itself, and be propagated only by the birds. This absurd prejudice is now removed, and many thousand trees are now seen flourishing in the gardens, the bark of which is not inferior to the best that grow naturally in the woods.

The cinnamon leaf has a strong scent of cloves; the root, on the other hand, smells like sassafras; but, by means of sublimation, yields camphor. The tree, however, to which the Cingalese universally give the appellation of Kurundu, appears to be greatly diminished in the woods; so that the barkers, for several years past, have not been able to procure the quantity required.

The coasts round the whole island of Ceylon, to the distance of six leagues or more, inland, belong entirely to the Dutch, though the natives occupy them under the jurisdiction of the governor.* The interior and mountainous part of the island is still possessed by the King, or Emperor, of Caadi, who is so hemmed in, that he cannot trade with any other nation.

* As well-wishers to the interests of our own country, we cannot help being anxious, that this valuable settlement, now in the possession of the British, may be suffered to remain so.

Christianity has made great progress among the Ceylonese; nevertheless, by far the greater part of them are Pagans, who pay great adoration to their idol Budha, or Budso, whose image is to be seen in all their temples, and often in private houses.

The Moors, who come hither from the continent, are pretty numerous in Columbo, and carry on an extensive trade. They are generally tall of stature, and of a darker complexion than the islanders.

Having satisfied his curiosity in the vicinity of Columbo, our traveller set out for Mature, in company with M. Frobis, who was going thither on public business. This journey was performed in a palanquin, which is not very different from the Japanese norimon. Their route lay through Panture, Kaltere, Wellotte, Hekkede, and some other places. The road extended along the coast, and was often incommodious and sandy, though enlivened on one side with beautiful forests of cocoa-trees.

In five days they arrived at Mature; and immediately set about shipping off three hundred and twenty-six bales of cinnamon in woollen sacks, over which was sewed a cow's hide. The surgeons are obliged to examine this drug, and are responsible for its goodness. This they must ascertain by chewing, which, if long continued, brings on intolerable pain, particularly if it is of the coarser sort.

The superfine cinnamon is known by the following properties: in the first place, it is thin and rather pliable; secondly, it is of a light colour, inclining to yellow; and thirdly, it possesses a sweetish taste, and is not stronger than can be borne without pain.

Of this esteemed and valuable bark, there are no fewer than ten varieties; but some of them are very rare. Cinnamon is barked in the woods at two different seasons of the year. The first, which is termed the Grand Harvest, lasts from April to August; the second, or Small Harvest, from November to the month of January.

On the 13th of November, they set out from Mature, and arrived at Columbo on the 19th. Here they found the distillation of the oils of cinnamon commencing. Only the refuse and broken pieces are applied to this purpose. The oil is sold on the spot for upwards of nine Dutch ducats an ounce.

M. Thunberg was at much pains to discover the origin and mode of preparation of the serpent stones, so famous in Ceylon. They are wholly artificial; and are prepared from a certain root burnt, and mixed with a particular sort of earth found near Dia. These two ingredients being mixed together, are burnt a second time, and reduced to a dough, which is then moulded into the usual form, and dried.

Of those celebrated antidotes against the bite of poisonous reptiles, he procured such a number at so cheap a rate, that he was afterwards enabled to sell them to his friends, at the Cape of Good Hope, as low as a rix-dollar a-piece.

The Indians, who are endangered by such a number of poisonous animals, juices, and fruits, are likewise richly provided with many natural antidotes; among which they reckon the lignum colubrinum, ophiorhiza, and mongos, the most efficacious.

December 7th, M. Thunberg made a second journey to Mature, at the instigation of the governor, to visit the lady of Count Rantzow, who laboured under a severe indisposition. He travelled night and day, in a palaquin, without halting, and accomplished the journey in three days.

Having now more leisure, he made daily excursions in the vicinity; and as the precious stones of the island more particularly abound here, he particularly applied himself to obtain information respecting their kinds, qualities, and the mode of finding them. The poorer sort of Moors are generally employed in cutting and polishing them, which was done on a plate of lead, and for a very moderate charge.

Of these people he purchased many specimens, both

in their rough and polished state. They consist chiefly of rubies, amethysts, robals, hyacinths, the blue sapphire, green sapphire, the blue tormalin, the green tormalin, the topaz, the cinnamon stone, the yellow tormalin, the white tormalin, the white crystal, the white or water sapphire, the tarisso, the yellow crystal, the brown crystal, the black crystal, and the cat's eye, which latter is a pseudo-opal.

All these precious stones, some of which are peculiarly valuable, are more especially the produce of the district of Mature. They are generally found in a compound of fat earth and clay; and sometimes several species are natives of the same bed. Many of them are washed down from the mountains; and, in general, they lie at no great depth from the surface of the earth.

The digging of precious stones in this vicinity is farmed out annually to the highest bidder. In 1778, it was said a Moor rented this privilege for one hundred and eighty rix-dollars. Small portions of land, however, are commonly let out to poorer contractors by licence, who pay in proportion to the number of men they employ.

One of the most extraordinary trees in Ceylon, is what the Dutch call *Strunthout*, and the Cingalese, *Urenne*. The smell perfectly resembles human ordure. When rasped and sprinkled with water, the stench is quite intolerable. It is nevertheless taken internally by the natives as an efficacious remedy.

Our botanist was at great pains to procure some blossoms of this tree, in order to ascertain its genus; but was constantly disappointed. He could only obtain some branches, after repeated efforts; and, from the sight of them, he was convinced, that it was neither the *anagryis fœtida*, nor the *sterculia fœtida*. He brought some live plants of it as far as the British Channel in boxes; but they, and many other valuable and curious plants, were wholly lost and destroyed in a storm. Of the wood which he carried to his native country, the scent was entirely lost.

Another curious tree is the slangen-hout of the Dutch, probably the *ophioxylon serpentium*, which is not only used as an efficacious antidote against serpents, but likewise in ardent and malignant fevers. The Europeans have cups turned of the wood, into which wine is poured, which, in a short time, extracts the virtues of the wood, and is drank as a stomachic. It is of a bitterish taste.

Near Candia, the capital of the country, and the residence of the emperor, camphor is said to be distilled. This city stands upon an eminence, near the centre of the island. In its environs is a very high mountain, the summit of which is called Adam's Peak; and here the father of the human race is supposed to lie buried. To this place the Cingalese make frequent pilgrimages, and pretend that the print of Adam's foot is still preceptible in the mountain.

On the 28th, M. Thunberg returned from Mature, in company with the young Count Rantzow. They arrived at Columbo on the eve of the new year; and soon after, according to annual custom, three ambassadors from the emperor came to Columbo to pay their respects to the Dutch.

On the 5th of February, the same compliment was returned to the sovereign of the country, on the part of the company, by sending an embassy, consisting of a merchant and two clerks.

Not willing to leave this beautiful island without seeing as much of it as possible, our traveller undertook a journey, in company with Messrs. Sluysken and Conradi, to Negumbo, at which place they arrived the subsequent day.

On the 19th of January, they set out on horseback, somewhat higher up the country, to inspect an elephant toil, or snare, in which numbers of those animals were captured and inclosed. This toil was constructed of stout cocoa trees, almost in form of a triangle. The narrowest end was strongly fortified with stakes, and firmly held together by ropes; and became so narrow,

that only one single elephant could squeeze itself into the opening.

When the governor gives orders for an elephant chase, on the company's account, which happens at the expiration of a certain number of years, a great multitude of men are sent into the woods. These diffuse themselves, and encompass a certain extent of land. After this, they gradually draw nearer, and with great noise and vociferation, contract their circle; in the mean time that they force the elephants to that side on which the toil is placed. Finally, torches are lighted up, still more to daunt those huge animals, and to drive them into the prepared toil. As soon as they have entered, the passage is closed. And in this manner, sometimes a hundred are caught; after which they are tamed, disciplined, and sold to the princes of Coromandel.

It is difficult to find an elephant free from some blemish; but such as are, will fetch from five hundred to one thousand rix-dollars each.

In his way back, M. Thunberg had the good fortune to find that beautiful plant, the *burmannia disticha*, which he had diligently sought by himself and others, for the space of five months back, without success. It grew on the low and watery lands, and had just begun to expand its blue flowers. The Cingalese give it the appellation of *wilende wenna*.

Our traveller now returned to Columbo; and soon made a discovery, which, if we may judge from our own feelings, was more grateful than any in his various tours in this island. In passing the gates of the fortifications, he had frequently observed a soldier present his arms, the customary compliment, and view him with particular attention. This induced him to ask his country. It appeared that he was a Swede, who had formerly been notary in some college of Sweden, but obliged by misfortunes to leave his native land; and had sailed in the capacity of a soldier, and spent several years in India without any advancement.

Having informed himself as to the qualifications of his countryman, M. Thunberg solicited his discharge from the governor, and furnished him with recommendations to M. Radermacher at Batavia, where he soon after arrived, and was immediately promoted to the post of clerk, and after that of accountant-general. This anecdote is so honourable to M. Thunberg's character, that those who cannot judge of his distinguished merits, as a man of science, will love him as a man of humanity.

The time, at last arrived, when he was to bid adieu to his respectable friends at Columbo. On the 28th of January, 1778, he departed for Gale, where a ship was lying, bound to the Cape; and on the 6th of next month he embarked on board her.

They set sail with a favourable wind, and on the 16th of March crossed the tropic of Capricorn. As they approached the south, between thirty and thirty-five degrees, they had frequent storms of thunder, hail, rain, and snow; and during one of them, the electrical fluid was observed to glisten round the tops of the fore and mainmast.

Several times in this course they saw water-spouts hovering in the air, in various forms. These always began to disappear at the bottom. Thunder storms and gusts of wind generally succeed these phenomena.

On the 27th of April they cast anchor at the Cape; and after the state of the crew's health had been duly examined, they were permitted to land. M. Thunberg immediately repaired to the lodgings he had occupied three years before; and had the infinite satisfaction to find a Swedish vessel lying in the road, with some of his friends on board. He also received the agreeable intelligence by letters, that he had been appointed demonstrator of botany in the university of Upsal.

On the 15th of May he left the Cape for the last time, and set sail for Europe, in company with four Dutch vessels. For several days the wind was contrary, with thick fogs; and when it cleared up on the

26th, they found themselves nearly on shore. Had a heavy gale been blowing at this instant, they must infallibly have been lost. The commodore, it seems, had been greatly in fault on this occasion; but they soon after lost sight of him, and pursued their voyage under the direction of the next senior captain.

On the 24th of June they were in sight of St. Helena, and in six days more passed Ascension. The 7th of the following month they passed the line, when the customary salutes took place.

Having previously come into soundings, on the 16th of September they arrived in sight of the Lizard Point, on the coast of Cornwall, and cruising about for a day and night, at last discovered the Dutch men of war that had been sent to convoy home the Indiamen. A lieutenant and clerk soon after came on board the ship to look for contraband goods: but they kindly confined their search to the captain's cabin, and there only rummaged his wine bottles.

On the 28th, they sailed down Channel, between Dover and Calais, with a favourable wind; but in the evening of that day, a sudden and violent storm arose, which forced them towards land, rent their sails, and brought down the top-masts. They were so near the breakers, that all gave up the ship as inevitably lost; and the sailors ceased to exert themselves any longer. Indeed, owing to the avarice of the captain and the chief mate, who had disposed of the best part of the provisions at the Cape for their own emolument, the sailors had fared miserably all the voyage; and they were now so exhausted with toil and faintness, that many of them tumbled from the rigging, and several fainted away on the deck itself.

The unprincipled officers, not expecting the voyage to be of such long duration, had even been obliged to reduce the crew to a short allowance of the wretched fare they had reserved for them. This not only reduced the strength of the men; but occasioned great murmuring and discontent. For this nefarious con-

duct, the captain and mate were, in the sequel, arraigned, and justly dismissed from the service.

After a dreadful night, when the morning began to dawn, they found that they had been driven in between the sand banks, nearly opposite to Ostend, and that they were entirely separated from their convoy. Seeing a prospect of safety, the crew imbibed fresh courage to extricate themselves from this perilous situation, in which, by a favourable change of the wind, they succeeded, and at length arrived safe in the Texel.

Exclusive of other damage our traveller suffered on this trying occasion, he had the misfortune of seeing his plantation of upwards of one hundred curious shrubs, of both species of the bread-fruit, and other extremely rare plants, turned topsy turvy, and absolutely destroyed, after all his pains.

With a heart, however, grateful to the Supreme for his protection, during many dangers in a period of seven years he had been absent from Europe, M. Thunberg hired a boat for Amsterdam, and immediately paid his respects to his patrons and friends, from whom he received the most cordial congratulations, and their full approbation of his labours.

Having visited the different collections of curiosities in Amsterdam and the vicinity, and finished his engagements with the Dutch East India Company, in a manner equally honourable to both parties, he resolved to travel to England, and to spend part of the winter in London.

With this view, passing through the Hague, and inspecting the stadtholder's cabinets of the productions of nature and art, he took his passage on board the English packet-boat from Helvoetsluys; but a heavy storm and contrary winds coming on, they were driven far from their course, and landed at a distant place from London.

On his arrival in the British metropolis, his friends, M. Dryander and Dr. Solander introduced him to Sir Joseph Banks, whose kindness and favours he acknow-

ledges in the most grateful terms. Indeed, our illustrious countryman, who had himself given up the allurements of pleasure and opulence for scientific pursuits in distant climes, could not fail to respect a man inspired with similar views, but contending with many superior disadvantages.

The amazing collections of Sir Joseph Banks were laid open to his inspection; and he farther visited, with satisfaction, the Royal Garden at Kew, and other private and public gardens, and museums, with which London and its vicinity abound.

In a word, our traveller seems captivated with every thing he saw in England; and he has since had the honour of being elected a member of the Royal Society, as well as of the London Medical and the Linnæan Societies.

Anxious, no doubt, to revisit his native land, after such a tedious absence, he set out from London on the 30th of January, 1779, in company with a countryman just returned from North America; and taking the route of Holland and Germany, they arrived safe at Ystad, and soon after rejoined their friends.

As a botanist, M. Thunberg has proved himself worthy to fill the chair of his immortal master, Linnæus. He has even improved on, or, at least, altered his arrangement of vegetables, by reducing them to twenty classes instead of twenty-four. This is now generally followed by the lovers of botany in other countries; though it is certainly attended with the inconvenience of obliging the aged admirers of vegetable nature to begin some part of their studies anew, and has even created a schism among the professors of this science.

END OF VOL. XI.

